

ONCE THE DOOR IS CLOSED: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF
ONE CONTENT-BASED ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROGRAM
AS FOUR TEACHERS IMPLEMENTED IT

By

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To the memory of Solon Kimball

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ONCE THE DOOR IS CLOSED: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF
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FOUR TEACHERS IMPLEMENTED IT

By

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Chairperson: Dorene D. Ross
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Major Department: Instruction and Curriculum

This study is an ethnography of the development and implementation of one content-based English program to teach Southeast Asian refugees in an urban school district. Four teachers were the primary participants in the study. Data collection included over 900 hours of fieldwork. Research methods included participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, and archival research.

The purpose was to document and understand the program implementation process from the teachers' perspectives and to examine these perspectives in the light of pertinent research. Two initial questions guided the data collection: (a) how do teachers understand the task of educating refugees and (b) how do their perceptions influence program implementation? Additionally, I wanted to know what district and school factors influenced the implementation process.

Seven findings emerged from the data. The findings may not be generalizable to other settings but provide insight into the implementation process and may be helpful to researchers and practitioners who face similar problems in similar settings.

Four of the findings relate to the implementation process in general. The other three specifically relate to the implementation of programs for linguistically and culturally diverse students.

1. Multiple system-related factors influence the program implementation process. These factors include district policy and the lack of instructional leadership at the district and school levels.
2. The kinds of problems teachers identify and work to resolve affect the implementation process.
3. Teachers who do not share understandings about a new program, teaching, or the ways in which the program is to be implemented will implement the program in different ways.
4. Individual teachers actively construct the educational programs they present to their students.
5. The system may play a significant role in preventing teachers from educating language minority students.
6. A program and the opportunities it provides for LEP students to learn English and to come to understand the American school culture and academic concepts may vary by teacher.
7. Teachers who do not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with their students can teach those students. However, the qualifications for this finding are numerous.

CHAPTER I BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

This study is an ethnography of the development and implementation of one teacher-initiated program to teach Southeast Asian refugees in Urbantown,¹ an urban school district in the United States. Four teachers were the primary participants in the study. The purpose was to document the process of program implementation from the teachers' perspective and to examine those perspectives in the light of pertinent research. I wanted to understand the classroom-level reality of program implementation as it was reflected in the daily classroom lives and practices of teachers over a 10-month period. Two questions that guided data collection throughout the study were (a) how do teachers understand the task of educating refugees and (b) how do their perceptions influence program implementation at the classroom level?

I frame this study within the contexts of two national educational issues. The first concerns the debate between proponents of bilingual education and English as a second language (ESL). The second is the debate over educational reform that began with the publication of A Nation at Risk (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

The bilingual/ESL debate has raged since mid-1960s when Congress passed the 1968 Bilingual Education Act. As Ovando has noted (1983), the debate has "touched some of the most sensitive socio-political and pedagogical nerves in U.S. society"

¹ Several precautions have been taken to insure the anonymity of the teachers and the school district: all proper names have been changed and all geographical references have been omitted. Although some dates related to the background of the program have been included, specific dates during which this study was conducted have been omitted.

(p. 664). One central issue in the debate is whether or not non-English speaking students are more effectively educated in programs where the language of instruction is English or where the language of instruction is the language the child speaks at home (Porter, 1991; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Proponents on each side of the debate claim the superiority of their own position and draw on program effectiveness or program evaluation research to support their claims (Crawford, 1986).

The research evidence to date favors bilingual education programs (Crawford, 1989; GAO, 1987; Ramirez, 1991). In fact, as Crawford showed in his review of research, there is "almost no research assessing the effectiveness of ESL as a substitute for bilingual instruction" (Crawford, 1989, p. 122). The research supporting both sides, however, has been plagued by limitations in design (Baker & De Kanter, 1983; Cardenas, 1977; Crawford, 1989). Researchers have warned against generalizing the research findings (Walberg, 1986) or using the findings "to serve as a basis for national policy" (Ravitch, 1986, p. 73).

One concern among researchers is that findings that show program effectiveness lack explanatory power. In 1984, Developmental Associates, Inc. conducted a comprehensive study of existing services for LEP students. Their report synthesized findings related to those services and programs. The researchers concluded that bilingual education and ESL program evaluation research lacked studies that identify "the elements contributing to the successful implementation of LM-LEP (language minority-limited English proficient) services" (Developmental Associates Inc., 1984, p. 5). Today, eight years after the report, studies of the implementation process in bilingual education and ESL programs are still missing.

Conley (1991) noted a similar lack of studies documenting the process of program development and implementation in the current educational reform literature. At the national level, researchers and policymakers alike are debating the failure of United

States public schools, the causes for their failure, and what must be done to make them better. Currently educational reformers are advocating two general approaches: top-down and bottom-up reforms. Top-down reforms include the development of a national curriculum, national tests, and a national certification process. Bottom-up approaches champion grass-roots control over the educational system and include school restructuring and shared decision making (Hess, 1991). Central to shared decision making is greater teacher participation and leadership in redesigning the schools and the curriculum (Harris & Associates, 1986, p. 72). Reports such as A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century, (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986) have called for "the reconstruction of American education, almost from the ground up" (Tucker, 1986, p. 3). Bottom up proponents have argued that reconstruction will be achieved by replacing "school systems based on bureaucratic authority . . . [with] schools in which authority is grounded in the professional competence of the teacher . . . " (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986, p. 55).

Proponents of shared decision making reforms have claimed that the policy changes they advocate will increase school effectiveness and will "set the stage for major long-term improvement of America's competitive position in world markets, for wider participation in an expanding economy across the social spectrum, and for a better educated citizenry capable of preserving democracy well into the 21st century" (Carnegie Forum, 1986, p. 107). Such claims are optimistic, but they have not been well supported by empirical research. Conley (1991) has pointed out that reforms that increase teacher participation have "outpaced" research to measure their effectiveness (p. 225). Conley further noted that the existing research has been limited to "a narrow range of instructional policy-making areas . . . [and that] policymakers who seek to provide teachers with the broader decision-making responsibilities called

for in the reform reports might be helped by research that examines the potential for and effects of teacher participation in a more extensive selection of school decisions" (p. 225). The little research available on bottom-up reforms usually employs survey data and/or outcome measures to prove the effectiveness of the reforms. Two exceptions were Zimmet's (1973) two-year case study of decentralization in New York City and the massive Rand Corporation eight-volume *Change Agent Study* (McLaughlin, 1990). These researchers examined local variables affecting policy and comprehensively showed that there is no one-to-one relationship between policy and practice. Nevertheless, they shared a shortcoming of the research to date: they did not document teachers' perspectives of the program implementation process as it occurred in classrooms once the door was closed. Purkey and Smith (1983), in their review of effective schools literature, discussed the lack of classroom-level process information. McLaughlin and Talbert (1991) noted in their critique of Louis and Miles (1990) that the survey research method they used

keeps teachers' daily worklives in shadow [and] pays only lip service to teachers' role in planning and implementing change. A bottom-up, teachers'-eye view of the challenges of teaching in urban high schools might well lead to a different perspective on effective change and to a different set of preconditions [necessary for change]. (p. 29)

The educational reform literature has identified two concerns: the lack of research documenting the implementation of current educational reforms and the lack of the teachers' perspectives in reform research. Bilingual education and ESL program evaluation researchers have raised similar concerns. I address these concerns in this study. I focus on the realities of implementing one teacher-initiated educational reform to educate Southeast Asian refugee students from the perspective of four teachers.

Background for the Problem

In the mid-1970s the Urbantown County School Board applied for and received a federal Title VII Bilingual Education grant to develop and implement a comprehensive Spanish/ English bilingual program for grades K-6. At that time, 85% of the district's approximately 200 limited-English-proficient (LEP) students were Spanish-speaking. The rest of the students were from Vietnam or the Philippines and spoke Vietnamese and Tagalog respectively with a few Arabic speakers.

By the late 1970s, the makeup of Urbantown's LEP student population had changed. A final evaluation report for the program indicated that there were 111 Spanish-, 16 Arabic-, 18 Tagalog-, and 19 Vietnamese-speaking students in district schools. For the 53 non-Spanish speaking students, the Spanish bilingual program was inappropriate, since the non-Spanish speakers could not benefit from instruction in Spanish. These students needed a different type of program. In 1980, the Urbantown County School Board (UCSB) approved the addition of an English as a Second Language (ESL) pull-out program which provided students with "one period per day of English language instruction" (Urbantown County School Board, 1983, p. 15). By that time the LEP student population had risen to 210 and the language groups included Italian, Russian, Thai, Hindi and Greek speakers (p. 15). Although the number of language groups had increased, all LEP students had two common characteristics. Most had attended school in their home countries, and most were academically at or near grade level with their American peers in all areas except their English language skills (Interview, Urbantown ESL/Bilingual Program Coordinator).

In 1980, the federal government began a new refugee resettlement policy.²

Urbantown was targeted as a site for Southeast Asian refugees. The city had several small, but established, Southeast Asian groups: Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, and Filipino. There were large number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs due to rapid insustrial growth, and government officials believed that the refugees would have minimal economic impact on the community. By the end of 1982 more than 350 Southeast Asian refugees had arrived in Urbantown (Interview, Director of Urbantown Refugee Resettlement Agency). Six months later the number of refugees increased to 800. Approximately 20% were school age children.

In 1981, the Urbantown School District adopted a new policy. Students, in order to be promoted, would have to pass a county-developed basic skills test. At the end of the 1981-82 school year, 80% of the LEP elementary and 85% of the LEP secondary students failed county-level requirements for promotion. To prepare the LEP students to meet the new grade promotion requirements, the Bilingual/ESL staff recommended that the ESL program be expanded. The Urbantown School Board approved funding. Beginning with the 1982-83 school year, LEP students received from one to three hours of English instruction per day. Despite the increased instructional time, program staff expected the percentages of students failing to meet district standards to increase because new refugee students were coming into the district every week.³

² In the fall of 1980, the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and the United States Department of State coordinated efforts to locate Southeast Asian refugees in areas throughout the country which had been unaffected by previous refugee immigration. Refugee relocation sites were to accomodate 300 to 1,000 refugees who would establish core communities that would absorb future refugees.

³ CBEP program proposals documented that LEP students increased from 230 to 280 by the end of the school year. The next year the total was 308, 142 of whom were secondary students in the ESL program. Secondary students included those in junior or

In 1982, the Urbantown County School Board Research and Evaluation Department wrote a grant proposal to obtain federal funding for a new, secondary-level, English language basic skills and career development program. County officials believed that such a program would address the needs of the Southeast Asian refugee students who now comprised 59% of the students enrolled in the ESL pull-out program.⁴ Urbantown officials shared the proposal with parents of the LEP students during the December Parent Advisory Council (PAC) meeting (Urbantown program documents). During the meeting, the Southeast Asian parents raised several concerns: Would it be possible to have a Southeast Asian teacher and staff in the new program? Would the secondary students receive a diploma if they were enrolled in the proposed English Language Program? and Would the program provide training to enable the Southeast Asian parents to become more involved in their children's education? Bill R., the ESL/Bilingual Program Coordinator, responded that the Board was willing to hire a Southeast Asian teacher and aides; that students in the proposed program would receive either a diploma or a certificate of attendance depending on the courses for which they received credit; and, yes, the proposal would include parent training activities (Urbantown PAC Minutes). The School Board submitted the proposal to the United States Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs. The proposal was not funded.

senior high school. Because of their age and the lack of English language proficiency, formal education, and parental involvement in their education, approximately 117 of these students were expected to drop out of school.

⁴ In December 1983, 308 LEP students were enrolled in Urbantown programs: 91 were in the Spanish bilingual K-6 program; 217 were in ESOL. Of those, 142 were secondary. Of these more than 80% were Southeast Asian. Of the 75 elementary ESOL students, about 40% were Southeast Asian (Urbantown program documents).

After discussion with the teachers, community representatives and county administrators, the school board decided to establish ESL centers for students who were not proficient in English. The first year the centers were operational, the principals and teachers realized that the ESL program was still not meeting the needs of the Southeast Asian students. Even with three hours per day of English language instruction, most Southeast Asian students were falling further and further behind their English speaking peers. Program staff projected that 85% of the approximately 250 Southeast Asian students in the program would fail the school year (USCB, program documents). ESL program teachers and Bill discussed possible designs for a new program.

Statement of the Problem

The teachers and Bill decided that a content-based English language program (CBEP) specifically developed to improve the language and academic skills of the Southeast Asian students would be the best program design. The teachers recommended that the CBEP classes be self-contained, that one teacher be responsible for each class, and that students be grouped by language ability in nongraded clusters rather than the traditional single-grade grouping.⁵ Teachers would be primarily responsible for teaching English as a second language, language arts, and mathematics, and secondarily responsible for teaching some social studies. The

⁵ Students who enter the Urbantown school system are placed in appropriate grade levels based on academic records and/or testing. Once they are placed, it is difficult to assign them to a higher grade level, and almost impossible to have them placed two or three grade levels higher. The purpose of the proposed non-graded clusters was to circumvent the county rules for grade-level placement. The non-graded structure was seen as essential for the Southeast Asian students 12 years and older who were entering school with elementary level academic skills and little English. By entering the system with no grade-level assignment, the students could progress at their own rate and then be placed at an appropriate grade level once they acquired the necessary academic and English language skills.

teaching of science would be optional. The goal of the program was to help students acquire quickly the language skills and content knowledge they needed to move into the regular academic program.

The teachers, principals, and Bill submitted a two-page letter to the school board. In the letter they outlined their ideas for a new, Content-Based English Program (CBEP). A few days later, Bill asked if I would evaluate the new program. I met with him twice to discuss possible studies. After the school board approved the program, I met with Bill and the teachers. The purpose of these meetings was to help me understand the intent of the program and to clarify the role I would play as the CBEP evaluator. We also discussed possible research approaches and issues; for example, the need for a control group, the need for pre- and post-testing, and the need to describe the new program as it actually was implemented. I applied for and received permission to conduct the program evaluation study from the Urbantown County School Board Office of Research and Evaluation. I also obtained verbal agreement from the teachers and principals to participate in the study.

After discussing the research issues with Bill, I selected a quasi-experimental design. Program effectiveness was to be measured by pre- and post-test scores on the Wide Range Achievement Test and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Additionally, I would use scores on the minimum competency skills tests required by the county for grade placement. Students were to be assigned randomly to the new CBE Program or the existing ESL program. The two schools were chosen because 80% of the Southeast Asian students attended those schools. Both the CBE and ESL programs were to be available at both schools.

Because I wanted to understand what went on in the classrooms as the program was implemented, I asked for and received permission from the teachers, principals and school board to spend up to three days a week in the classrooms as a participant

observer. My purpose was to gather ethnographic data--including observational field notes, archival data, examples of student work, and ethnographic interviews--that would help me document and understand the program implementation process.

I used the program goals to develop the central question guiding the ethnographic phase of my research:

What happens when teachers who do not share a common language, a common culture, or a core of similar life experiences with their students attempt to teach English and the academic knowledge and skills students will need for placement in the regular academic classrooms where only English is spoken?

Additionally, I was interested in such questions as

1. What problems do the CBEP and control-group teachers face as they go about their daily work?
2. What do teachers mean when they say they are educating refugees, and do their definitions and expectations change over the year?
3. What are the teachers' educational aims, and how are they reflected in classroom practice?

The teachers developed the new CBEP curriculum in two phases during the summer. From mid-June to July, two teachers--one from each school--drafted a curriculum guide for the program. They shared the guide during a week-long program planning session at the end of July. Bill, the six CBEP teachers, and I worked to revise the draft guide. Additionally, we selected materials for the program. Although the CBEP teachers had decided to continue using the present county-approved text for English-as-a-second-language instruction, they needed materials to teach language arts and mathematics. The Board had also approved funding to

purchase computers for the CBEP classrooms. The teachers needed to select computer software.

In the spring, prior to developing the CBE Program, Bill began looking for materials for the teachers to review. Computer programs for ESL were just being developed. Bill contacted Martin Connors, a computer software expert who had worked with Bill on previous proposals. Connors was brought in as an external consultant to work with the teachers and Bill the week they revised the proposed CBE Program curriculum.

He had developed a comprehensive reading and mathematics enhanced mastery learning program for ESL instruction. Many of the program materials were being converted to computer discs and Connors was developing supplementary computer materials. Most of the available ESL computer materials were designed to supplement the reading program. In a December 1982 letter to Bill, Connors made the following statement:

Among the things we would be pleased to do . . . would be to tailor or adapt our materials to your curriculum and its objectives. We will take objectives and create materials where you would prefer We could create print materials, as well as computer aided instructional materials where necessary and where adaptations don't seem the best way to go.

The teachers were aware that Bill had contacted Connors. They all thought, however, that they were going to review his materials and decide whether or not they would be appropriate for the program. The first day Connors provided them with an overview of his program. On the second day, as they worked on revising the draft curriculum guide, the teachers realized that Connors saw his role as one of helping the teachers to integrate the CBEP objectives with his materials. The teachers became concerned because there were no materials or books for them to review. Connors had brought only three demonstration computer programs for the teachers to see.

After work the second day, the teachers met with Bill to voice their concerns. They learned that Bill already had decided to purchase \$15,000 of materials from Connors. He told us that of all the materials he has reviewed, Connors' materials fit the educational emphasis of the Urbantown County School Board. Not only did the computer materials match the county's new computer literacy program, but the competency-based, mastery learning approach Connors used paralleled the competency-based learning approach advocated by the school district.

Initially, the teachers were concerned that Bill had not consulted them about his decision to purchase the materials. After further discussion, the teachers decided that Bill had some valid points. They understood that no single program could satisfy all their program requirements and that Connors' materials were probably as good or better than most programs they had seen. On the third and fourth day the teachers and Connors clarified their respective tasks. He provided the teachers with a 25-page listing of competencies his program addressed. The teachers divided into two groups--elementary and secondary--and spent the third and fourth days integrating the CBEP objectives with competencies from Connors' program. The teachers also ranked the competencies in order of importance for the CBE Program. Connors' final task was to take the curriculum draft and select materials based on the skills rank ordered by the teachers.⁶

When school began, student assignment changes made the original research design impossible. The principals placed all qualified students in the new CBE Program, thus eliminating the control group. Because I already had collected interesting ethnographic data, I talked with Bill and the teachers and decided to conduct an ethnography of four teachers who were implementing the new CBE Program. I

⁶ The final curriculum guide was 50 pages long and arrived in September. Because of production and shipping problems, the materials did not arrive until November.

included only four teachers because one of the original six teachers was reassigned in September and the other--a native Spanish speaker--was assigned Spanish-speaking students and thus did not meet the requirements for the initial research question.

As I began my initial observations, it became clear that the four teachers were doing very different things in their classrooms. I wanted to understand why. Two guiding questions emerged:

1. Why did teachers who ostensibly were working from a common set of assumptions and were working together to develop common program guidelines end up implementing such radically different programs?
2. What biographical, contextual, and organizational factors influenced the teachers' social construction of the programs they implemented?

After further data analysis, I added two more questions:

3. Of the many potential problems that the four teachers faced everyday, which do individual teachers recognize and act upon, which do they recognize and fail to act upon, and which do they fail to recognize at all?
4. If differences exist in problem recognition or how the teachers worked to solve problems, what accounted for those differences in perception and/or action?

In the early 1980s more than 300 Southeast Asian refugees entered the Urbantown schools. Most students had no knowledge of English, and most had little or no formal education. The war in Southeast Asia had led to the closing of many schools in the 1970s. The students had spent two to five years in refugee camps that had no comprehensive educational programs for children. The Southeast Asian students' lack of fluency in English, their limited academic background, and their lack of familiarity with the U.S. culture and the culture of school all contributed to their high failure rates.

In response to the needs of the refugees, teachers and administrators in the Urbantown School District developed a new Content-Based English Program. The program was specifically designed to address the realities of educating Urbantown's Southeast Asian students. After the Urbantown School Board approved the program, Bill asked me to evaluate the program and document the program implementation process during the first year. He wanted to generate data that would help him develop a model program for the school district. My goal was to document the program implementation process from the perspective of four teachers and to understand the role individuals play in that process. Additionally, I hoped that what I learned about teaching refugees would inform classroom practice.

Significance of the Study

United States schools always have served social and political ends (Best, 1984; Perkinson, 1968; Tyack, 1974). Over the past 200 years, politicians and educators alike have claimed that the schools can do it all: maintain our democratic freedoms, secure our democratic political system, help equalize opportunity, assimilate immigrants into the American culture, and prepare a productive workforce. The last four decades, claims about U.S. political, social, and economic ills have accompanied calls for educational reform. In the 1950s, the launching of Sputnik and concern for our national safety prompted reforms in the teaching of mathematics, science, and foreign languages. In the 1960s, educational reform was a cornerstone of the war on poverty. The cry for accountability was answered in the 1970s by massive school and teacher effectiveness reforms. In the 1980s, the nation's economic security came into question. The mediocrity of the schools was identified as a contributing factor, and excellence in education reforms swept the nation (Felt, 1985; Spady & Marx, 1984).

Although the purpose of the reforms has changed from one decade to the next, school reforms for the last 40 years have shared a basic top-down quality. Educational researchers, state or district school boards, state legislatures, or the federal government develop and introduce improvement strategies into school districts and schools. Reforms are developed by experts who work far from the everyday life of schools, reforms they expect teachers to implement, not to initiate.

Every decade has heralded in a new call for reform, and the 1990s are no different. Two approaches to educational reform are developing. One repeats the old top-down reform pattern of the past. Reformers in this camp believe the schools lack accountability and quality control, and suffer from the effects of "the maintenance of archaic practices, dysfunctional customs . . . and cumbersome governance arrangements" (Finn, 1991, p. xiv). George Will's recent statement (1991) summarized this camp's rationale, "Today the principal threat to America is America's public-school establishment" (p. A8). For top-down reformers, the solutions include establishing clearcut standards that all schools, teachers, and students will be expected to achieve. Ways to achieve these standards include a core national school curriculum; national examinations to be given to all students in grades 4, 8, and 12; and a national board-certification exam for teachers.

Chester E. Finn, Jr.'s (1991) book, We Must Take Charge, has provided a comprehensive statement of the current top-down approach to educational reform. Finn presented his perceptions about failure of the 1970s school and teacher effectiveness and the 80s excellence reforms. He presented the rationale for his claims, answered the arguments of the national curriculum critics, and outlined what would be required to establish the program he envisions. Finn's position is gaining top-level political support: Lamar Alexander, U.S. Secretary of Education; Orrin Hatch, U.S. Senator from Utah; and William Bennett, former Secretary of Education

Finn's book. In his endorsement on the cover of Finn's book, Bennett claimed, "Chester Finn gives us a war plan for the educational battles of the nineties." The National Governor's Association and President George Bush also support proposals similar to Finn's.

In contrast with the top-down reformers, proponents of bottom-up proposals claim that past reforms were ineffective because they were initiated from the top. Also reform designers did not sufficiently understand the educational systems they worked to alter. Findings from the 1974-1978 Rand Change Agent Study tend to support this position. The goal of bottom-up reform is to give teachers, parents, students, and community leaders a greater say in educational decision-making. Shared decision-making, restructuring, and school-based management are bottom-up reforms that schools and school systems throughout the country are implementing. For example, fifteen states have introduced restructuring and shared decisionmaking reforms based on Theodore Sizer's ideas (Olson, 1990). The goals of the bottom-up reforms are to professionalize the workforce (Harris & Associates, 1986), improve the relationship between students and teachers, and to restructure schools (Carnegie Forum, 1986; Olson, 1990). The claim is that school- and community-based decision-making will improve the quality of education and the achievement of students.

The claims of both camps are impressive, but there is little research that proves the efficacy of such reforms, and there are few process studies that document their implementation. Educational reform is more than a decision to reform or a plan to be implemented. It is a process by which a group of people come to hammer out common goals. Understanding the problems teachers face and issues related to implementing a new program in the context of the everyday reality of school life is essential if we are to understand the reform process at the school and classroom level.

The purpose of this study is to document one teacher-initiated reform from its initial proposal and design through its first year of operation. My goals have been to identify those factors that affect program development and implementation; to discover patterns that help to explain what went on; and to discuss those patterns in the context of the classroom, school, and district where teachers do their work. I have paid particular attention to the daily lives of real people as they face real problems implementing a new program in the real world of the ESL classroom.

One important aspect of this study is that I focused on a teacher-initiated reform that was embedded within a school system known for its top-down school structure. What happens when teachers initiate a program within a complex bureaucratic system? What conditions impede or facilitate the implementation process? This study increases our understanding of these issues. The findings of this study will add to our knowledge of bottom-up school reforms and their implementation. Such an understanding will help other teachers interested in designing and implementing similar programs in other school districts.

The study also has implications for further research. Some of the patterns and factors identified in this work have not been examined sufficiently in studies evaluating educational reforms. These factors include system variables that affect program implementation in the school and classroom, individual interpretations of the reform and their effects on program implementation (Zimmet, 1973), the background experiences and knowledge--prior structures--teachers bring with them to the instructional setting, the way in which those prior structures affect program implementation, and the fit between what teachers intend and what actually develops in individual classrooms. Further research focusing on these factors could lead to a greater understanding of the program implementation process and to the development of process-derived implementation strategies.

Design of the Study

My initial contact with the school district was in the spring prior to the implementation of the program. From March through May, I had several meetings with the Urbantown ESL/Bilingual Coordinator (Bill), the teachers who would participate in the study (Mindy, Jennifer, Rita, and Ellen), and the principals (Regina and Carla). During this period my role as a researcher was established, the teachers' roles in the study were discussed, and the initial study design was proposed.

I used a variety of data collection techniques: passive and limited participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, and unobtrusive data collection. Fieldwork lasted 14 months and was followed by phone calls, in-person interviews with teachers, additional classroom visits, and archival research. I had about 900 hours of direct contact time with the teachers: 350 hours of passive participant observation in the classrooms; 200 hours of limited participant observation in the schools and classrooms; 200 hours in school related activities--student home visits, committees, advisory council meetings; and more than 200 hours as a guest in the teachers' homes. I spent more than 100 hours interviewing key members in both the Urbantown and Southeast Asian communities, collecting and reading reports, newspaper articles, books, and government documents.

Data analysis was an ongoing and arduous process. I used the Developmental Research Sequence Method (DRSM) developed by Spradley (1980) during the actual data collection period and during the initial analysis of the data. I used the DRSM to organize the data, to compare, contrast, analyze and synthesize the observations I was making. The DRSM helped me to sort out and differentiate my words and tacit assumptions from those of the participants.

Once I began to understand the different assumptions the teachers were making about what I originally assumed to be a commonly held experience, I looked for an

additional analysis technique that would help me to analyze and understand the teachers' perspectives. I chose the theoretical framework of symbolic interaction as articulated by Blumer (1969) and developed in the writings of Mead (Miller, 1973; Strauss, 1956) and Berger and Luckman (1967). Symbolic interactionism "is an approach to understanding human conduct which is based on the view that the human is primarily an active, goal-seeking person (not merely a responsive organism), that the stimuli toward which he acts are selected and interpreted by him, and that social interaction occurs in terms of these significant symbols" (Zadrozny, 1959, p. 339). The phenomenological perspective of Alfred Schutz (1967) and Webb (1978) were also helpful. I chose the symbolic interaction framework because of its attention to the individual as an active participant in the construction of his/her reality we term everyday life.

The framework I used to analyze the teachers' perspectives combined the theories of Alfred Schutz (1967) and a field-data analysis method developed by Jaber Gubrium (1988). Gubrium derived his method from symbolic interaction theory and a series of research studies he conducted of social organization in different human service institutions. Specifically, the method applies to the analysis of field data gathered using ethnographic research methods. Gubrium viewed "intersubjective reality as a basis for meaning production and reproduction, and challenges the idea that there is a 'real world' lying behind the symbols and beliefs we hold" (p. 5). The central focus of the method is uncovering and understanding the structures of relevance--prior beliefs, experiences, and understandings--that frame a person's perceptions and interpretations about the objective world.

Research Assumptions

One primary assumption has guided me throughout this study. I believe that teaching is a problem solving activity. Jackson (1968) estimated that the average

solve the problem, decide which course of action to follow. Finally, the teacher must act.

In this study, I defined teaching as the act of solving problems in the everyday life of the classroom and the school. I defined action as "the interpretive work taken in the process, circumscribed by the subjective meanings available to those concerned, on the one hand, and the things and events they consider on the other" (Gubrium, 1988, p. 15). The goal of this study was to understand the subjective meanings teachers used to circumscribe and interpret the things and events they recognized and acted upon in the process of implementing a program to educate Southeast Asian refugee students.

A second assumption guided my selection of the research focus and the methodology. That assumption is grounded in the writings of Dewey (1929) and Blumer (1969) in which they argue that the empirical world marks the beginning and end of the research cycle. As Blumer has noted, the purpose of an empirical social science is to "yield verifiable knowledge of human group life and human conduct" (Blumer, p. 21). The knowledge gained is to be used to enable others, in this study teachers and administrators, "to see and think more clearly and deeply about whatever" they are doing (Dewey, 1929, p. 75).

To achieve this end, I needed a methodology that would enable me to understand that portion of the empirical world which I had selected to study--the process of program implementation from the emic perspective of four teachers. The method I choose was ethnography. Ethnography has traditionally been perceived as "the task of describing a particular culture . . . in its own terms" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972, p. 3). In ethnography, "the ethnographer is there to understand [the way of life of those studied] and then to report his understandings to others" (Edgerton & Langness, 1974, p. 3). Ethnographers achieve this understanding by uncovering the emic

choose was ethnography. Ethnography has traditionally been perceived as "the task of describing a particular culture . . . in its own terms" (Spradley & McCurdy, 1972, p. 3). In ethnography, "the ethnographer is there to understand [the way of life of those studied] and then to report his understandings to others" (Edgerton & Langness, 1974, p. 3). Ethnographers achieve this understanding by uncovering the emic perspective of those studied. The emic perspective is "the native categories of thought or behavior into which observations can be sorted and as such they represent culture specific and unique world views or perspectives" (Morrill & Steffy, 1980, p. 49). One goal of ethnographic researchers is to "write prescriptions so that other outsiders could get along in the observed sphere of life and action" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 227).

Scope of the Study

I conducted my study in Urbantown, an urban school district in the United States. Two teachers from one elementary school and two teachers from one junior high school participated in the study. Three of the teachers were instrumental in developing the CBE Program. The fourth teacher was hired the final week of program development.

The third week of August, I attended the mandatory pre-school in-service workshop for all 18 ESL and bilingual teachers in the district. At that meeting, Bill introduced me and we explained the project to the other teachers. The new CBE Program was to provide data for a proposal to be submitted to the federal government to establish the program in other schools.

From the beginning of August through the end of September, I spent three days per week in the schools. In September, I tested 150 students on the WRAT and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. Once the fall testing was finished, I spent two days per week for the entire school year in the classrooms. I alternated days and times

of day in order to get a sense of the weekly schedule and the types of activities the teachers implemented. I tried to spend a minimum of half a day with a teacher each time I observed in her class. Because many of the CBEP materials did not arrive until November, the teachers requested that I not begin my formal field observations until December.

From September to December, I worked with the children and worked on school committees related to the CBE Program. I wanted to understand the context within which the CBE Program had been developed and was being implemented. My data collection techniques included informal interviews, a field journal in which I recorded activities and impressions, and the gathering of archival records and reports about the school district and the schools. I learned about the county's history of programs for language minority students. I read about the war in Southeast Asia and its aftermath to better understand the reality of educating Southeast Asian refugees.

From December through mid-May, I documented the ways in which the teachers were implementing the CBE Program in their classrooms. My research methods during this period included in-class observations two days per week and structured and informal ethnographic interviewing of the teachers, the Program Coordinator, and other school personnel involved with the program. In addition to my time in the schools, I also participated in a variety of activities that I felt would help me better understand the social context in which the program operated. I interviewed Southeast Asian parents, officials at the Urbantown Refugee Resettlement Agency, and Urbantown residents involved with the Southeast Asian community. I collected and read official program reports and materials documenting the evolution of Urbantown's educational programs for non-English speaking students. I was a member of the Urbantown ESL textbook selection committee. One teacher, the Program Coordinator and I gave a presentation about the CBE Program.

At the end of the school year, I tested the 120 students in the program. I used an alternate form of the Peabody and the same form of the WRAT. Only 75 of the 120 students had begun the program in August. Seventy-five, or 50% of the original sample (150), had left the school district. I attended CBEP student placement conferences for the following school year. I also administered a final questionnaire to the teachers on their perceptions of the year and recommendations for program improvement. Once school ended, I attended the post-planning for the teachers, helped teachers pack boxes and store materials, attended end of the year dinners and parties, and tried to fill in any gaps I had in my understanding of the program.

Overview of Chapters

The program implementation study that follows is in the sociology of knowledge tradition as presented in the writings of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1967). In addition, I have drawn on related phenomenological theories of Alfred Schutz (1967) and the symbolic interactionist school as represented by Blumer (1969) and Mead (Miller, 1973; Strauss, 1956). In these traditions, society is seen as a dialectic or reciprocal interaction

between . . . what is experienced as outside reality (specifically, the world of institutions that confront the individual) . . . and what is experienced [as real] within the consciousness of the individual Consciousness in this context does not refer to ideas, theories, or sophisticated constructions of meanings . . . but rather [to] the consciousness of ordinary people as they lead their ordinary lives (Berger, Berger, & Kellner, 1973, p. 12).

Researchers using a sociology of knowledge perspective concern themselves with the study of what people consider to be real as they give meaning to their daily life through interactions with others. Additionally, such researchers concern themselves with the place of those individual meanings in the totality of meanings that a group of individuals share. This totality of meanings is called 'the social life-world' of a particular group. Together, individual and group meanings provide the

map with which the individual "navigates through the ordinary events and encounters of his life with others" (Berger et al., 1973, p. 12).

In Chapter II, I argue that the role a teacher's individual meanings play in the construction of everyday life has been neglected in the research related to program implementation and to the teaching of linguistically and culturally different students. In Chapter III, I discuss the methodology used to gather and to analyze the data. In Chapters IV and V, I discuss the participants, setting, and the social context within which the program was implemented. In Chapters VI and VII, I document how four teachers socially constructed and implemented a content-based English language program. By documenting differences in the four teachers' interpretations of their shared social world, I show that individual interpretations and meanings were a primary force shaping the programs that developed. I further show how individuals ostensibly within the same social-life world attended to different aspects of that world and had different meanings for those aspects to which they all attended. These meanings were suggested in their formal teaching, their informal interactions with students, and in scheduled and spontaneous interviews with me. In Chapter VIII, I discuss the implications of the findings. I examine the influence of the social context on the program implementation process. I argue that proximity of individuals in a physical setting (in this study two schools within one school district) does not mean that the individuals share a social-life world based on shared meanings about the reality of everyday life. I conclude that the construction of a shared reality is a conscious act. In the implementation of any educational program, time and instructional leadership must be provided for individuals to hammer out shared socially constructed meanings. Additionally, since the social scene in which any program is implemented is dynamic and changing, the shared meanings must be continuously reconstructed.

CHAPTER II REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The ways in which individual teachers perceive, interpret, give meaning to, and act in the objective world of both school and classroom is an essential component of the program implementation process. Yet, the role of the individual in that process "has been given scant attention and in many instances, has been completely omitted" (Smith, Prunty, Dwyer, & Kleine, 1984, p. 21). One reason for this omission is that three broad perspectives--technological, political, and cultural--have guided the research process in educational innovation (Smith et al., p.21). Another reason is that "most reform efforts are based on the assumption that change occurs by giving teachers 'the right stuff' and imposing structures that shape teaching in particular ways" (Gitlin, 1990 b, p. 452). Gitlin has called these efforts consumptive reforms, and argues that such reforms introduce "new practices or structures without giving consideration to the way teachers and others understand schooling" (p. 452). In such efforts, teachers are seen as passive, compliant individuals who act as conduits that deliver the new reforms to their students. Since teachers' and other educators' prior knowledge and ways of perceiving and interpreting the world are not considered in the development of consumptive reforms, research examining such reforms has neglected to study how teachers understand schooling and how this understanding influences the programs that develop in their classrooms.

In this chapter, I argue the need for program implementation research from the perspective of teachers as they go about their daily work. To support my argument, I present a review of the literature in three general areas: symbolic

interaction theory, educational innovation and program evaluation studies, and teachers perspectives of teaching and their workplace. I also review program related research in bilingual education and teaching English as a second language (ESL). The three guiding questions that focused this review were: What do these studies tell me about the contextual factors that press upon teachers? What do these studies tell me about teachers' understandings of teaching and the ways in which those understandings guide their classroom practices? and What additional research is needed to inform the program implementation process at the classroom level, especially with regard to the education of refugee and immigrant students?

The Researcher's Subjectivity

The purpose of this section is to discuss the biases that guided me in the selection and evaluation of research I review. I have included this section because I believe the single most important factor that ethnographic researchers must confront and make explicit is their own taken-for-granted assumptions. As Peter Berger (1977) noted, "every human society rests on assumptions that, most of the time, are not only unchallenged but not even reflected upon" (p. xii). Schutz (1970) called these assumptions "that kernel of our experience of Nature which we believe to be self explanatory and not worth putting into question" (p. 170). Every professional area of study has unchallenged assumptions. These assumptions predispose us to "blindly follow paths cut by our colleagues" (Webb 1978, p. v). Popkewitz noted (1976) that "the linguistic order of a theory guides us in the very formation of the problem by telling us what to view as significant" (p. 322). The need for researchers to examine prior assumptions has been discussed widely in the literature. Alvin Gouldner (1970) stated that "we sociologists must--at the very least--acquire the ingrained habit of viewing our own beliefs as we now view those held by others" (p. 490). Solon Kimball and

William Partridge (1979) wrote of the pitfalls of unexamined professional biases and assumptions. More recently, Alan Peshkin (1988) argued that "researchers should systematically seek out their subjectivity . . . while their research activity is in progress. The purpose of doing so is to enable researchers to become aware of how their subjectivity may be shaping their inquiry and outcomes" (p. 17).

The unquestioned kernels of experience researchers bring to the field or to any theoretical query predispose them to see in certain ways the aspects of the empirical world they are observing. These kernels include taken-for-granted intellectual habits that enable the researcher to ask questions and then perceive, interpret, and give meaning to the empirical world in the search for answers. In all research, but especially in qualitative research where the researcher is the instrument through which the data are gathered, analyzed, and interpreted, it is important for the researcher to inspect those intellectual habits critically, "to see what they are made of and what wearing them" does to the researcher (Dewey, 1958, p. 37). From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the habits are part of the relevance structures that the researcher uses to identify, limit, and investigate the research problem. Unless the structures have been examined, they will operate unconsciously as the researcher perceives, attends to, and gives meaning to what is being studied.

My experiences as a teacher, researcher, and teacher educator and my professional education influenced the questions I asked and the intellectual habits I used to evaluate the research I review in this chapter. As a result of my experiences, I have developed several beliefs that guided me throughout this study. First, teachers are not passive conduits through which educational programs are delivered to students. Rather, they actively participate in the construction of the curriculum they present and the social reality they experience in their classrooms

and schools. Although not all teachers are equally effective constructing their programs, they all shape the programs they present to their students. Second, the purpose of educational research is to inform practice, and for that reason, good research should begin and end in the empirical world of the classroom (Dewey, 1929). These beliefs and my life experiences comprise part of my relevance structure--the subjective with which I interpreted and evaluated the research and theories I discuss in this chapter.

Overview of the Chapter

In the review that follows, I present the theoretical framework underlying symbolic interactionism and the sociology of knowledge, their premises and research focus. The discussion of symbolic interaction theory and underlying premises provides the reader with a framework from which to understand my study, since I used this theory and related research to analyze and interpret my data. Additionally, I used symbolic interactionism as a perspective from which I critiqued the studies I reviewed. Following the section on symbolic interactionism, I discuss program implementation studies and the research perspectives that have guided such research. I argue that one aspect of program implementation that has not been adequately researched is the way in which individual teachers perceive, give meaning to, and act in the socially constructed classroom world. I then review research that has examined teachers' perspectives of teaching and of the school as workplace. In the sections on program implementation and teachers' perspectives, I review related studies in bilingual education and teaching English as a second language (ESL). I discuss what we know about teachers' perspectives of implementing programs for language minority students. Throughout the review, I argue the need for longitudinal

ethnographic research that focuses on the classroom teachers as they perceive, interpret, construct and implement educational programs.

Symbolic Interactionist and Phenomenological Theory

The Role of the Individual

Symbolic interactionists in sociology have studied the role individuals play in constructing their social world. Symbolic interactionism was developed in the United States in the writings of George Herbert Mead (Miller, 1973; Strauss, 1956) and Herbert Blumer (1969). Symbolic interactionists also draw on the phenomenological work of Berger (1977), Schutz (1967, 1970), Berger and Luckman (1967), and others. There are some differences in the perspectives, but they need not concern us here. For the purpose of this study, I have drawn on philosophically compatible portions of these two schools of thought.

Symbolic interactionists pay close attention to individuals but do not ignore social norms and institutions. They argue that the way individuals interpret the objective world also helps shape their social world. A similar point was made by Berger and Luckman. They contended that

the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people *know as reality* in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, commonsense *knowledge* rather than *ideas* must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this *knowledge* that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist . . . We must begin by a clarification of that reality as it is available to the commonsense of the ordinary members of society. (Berger & Luckman, 1969, pp. 14 & 19)

Berger and Luckman further argued that individuals' subjective interpretation of everyday life *is* reality for them. These interpretations provide a coherent framework within which they act. Through thoughts and actions each individual creates and maintains his or her world, his or her reality (1967, p. 19).

The role of the individual in the perception, interpretation, and construction of social reality is a central concern in symbolic interaction research. As posited by Mead (Strauss, 1956) and further developed by Blumer (1969), it is the individual who ultimately attends to, interprets, gives meaning to, and acts upon the objective world. As individuals act in the world, they construct a framework, an interpretive scheme of experience. Through this scheme the individual views and gives meaning to the social world (Schutz, 1967, p. 81-86). Of course culture, social and professional institutions, and local norms and community life provide the individual with meanings that comprise a framework from which to view the world. Without such a framework, joint social action would be impossible. In addition to the shared group framework, however, individuals also construct their own framework of meanings. This framework is not the same for all individuals. No two individuals have exactly the same experiences or stock of knowledge from which to derive meaning in their interpretation of the objective world and, therefore, no two individuals interpret the world in exactly the same way (Berger & Luckman, p. 41-46; Schutz, 1967, p. 80-83). As Blumer noted,

The human individual confronts a world that he must interpret in order to act instead of an environment to which he responds because of his organization. He has to cope with the situations in which he is called on to act, ascertaining the meaning of the actions of others and mapping out his own line of action in the light of such interpretation. He has to construct and guide his action instead of merely releasing it in response to factors playing on him or operating through him. He may do a miserable job in constructing his action, but he has to construct it. (1969, p. 15)

Underlying Propositions

Individuals interpret, give meaning to, and act on their social world through the interaction of three processes: experience with the objective world, sharing of individual experience with others through dialogue, and internal dialogue of the self

with the self. These processes are reflected in the three premises articulated by Blumer (1969) as underlying symbolic interactionism:

- human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them;
- the meaning of things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; and
- these meanings are handled in and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (p. 2).

According to Blumer, the third premise differentiates symbolic interactionism from other social science theories (p. 5). This premise suggests that individuals do not merely apply meanings derived through social interaction but that they use meanings in the process of interpretation.

[Interpretation] has two distinct steps. First, the actor indicates to himself the things toward which he is acting; he has to point out to himself the things that have meaning. The making of such indications is an internalized social process in that the actor is interacting with himself. . . . Second, by virtue of this process of communicating with himself, interpretation becomes a matter of handling meanings. . . . Accordingly, interpretation should not be regarded as a mere automatic application of established meanings but as a formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action. It is necessary to see that meanings play their part in action through a process of self-interaction. (p. 5)

Meaning and the interpretive structures comprising meaning, as Perinbanayagam (1985) has discussed, can be considered as both noun and verb. "Not only are there structures in the language we use and the world we see and describe, but . . . we ourselves are doing the structuring too" (p. 75).

Interpretive Structures and the Problematic

A primary aim in symbolic interaction research is to uncover the interpretive structures individuals use to construct and give meaning to their social world. As

Schutz and Luckman (1973) have noted, "the relevance problem is perhaps the most important and at the same time the most difficult problem that the description of the life-world has to solve" (p. 183). For Schutz, relevance meant "the process by which objects come to man's attention, the process which determines what is and what is not pertinent to the situation at hand" (Webb, 1978, p. 19). Thus, relevance structures focus the individual's perception of the objective world. They guide his/her perceptions, interpretations, and actions. Working below the level of conscious awareness, they draw the individual's attention to problems. Problems from a symbolic interactionist perspective are defined as anything within a situation that is taken into account, assessed, interpreted, and considered as an individual plans a course of action to meet the needs of the situation. Blumer listed the following as a few of the possible objects that might be seen as problematic--"tasks, opportunities, obstacles, means, demands, discomforts, dangers, and the like" (p. 84). For teachers, the problematic might be discipline, student responses to a lesson, filling out forms, unplanned interruptions, lack of materials, finding lice in a child's hair, students wetting their pants, anything that focuses the teacher's attention and toward which the teacher directs his/her action.

Things become problematic when they challenge our assertions about and our perceptions of the empirical world, when they are perceived as potentially impeding action in that world. "The commonest problematic event that a human faces . . . is the engagement in a social act and the participation in the definition of a situation. This he accomplishes by interpreting the symbols that are presented to him and the object, spatial, and temporal worlds that are made available and by engaging in responsive discourse with whosoever is around to clarify doubts and indicate hidden significations" (Perinbanayagam, 1985, p. 4). In addition to

discourse with others, discourse with the self also occurs as the individual gives meaning to the situation, his/her actions, and the actions of others. In this manner, problems are dealt with and accommodated, and in the process, new concepts about the empirical world are formed.

In everyday life, many problematic situations are repeated daily. Individuals do not identify and assess the problematic, interpret it, and plan a course of action each time a repeated situation occurs. Rather, individuals "*routinize* their acts so that decisions and vocabularies of motive and the deliberative mobilization of intellectual and physical resources become unnecessary or at least only minimally necessary. . . . This routinization of acts leads to the construction of a *schedule* of activities that constitutes the everyday life of people" (Perinbanayagam, 1985, p. 5). It is from these routinized acts and schedules that social roles develop which individuals can be socialize to perform "and then provided with the opportunity and the occasion to perform these acts" (p. 5).

Schutz and Luckmann (1973) called these routinized acts "social recipes" (p. 15). These acts are the patterns that have worked in similar past situations and have become habitualized. Such routinized acts may be unique to the individual, or they may be acts which are enacted in similar ways by members of a group. It is in the performing of these acts that meaning emerges and individuals construct interpretive schemes. Whereas many experiences and their resulting meanings are socially derived--are available to the individual through experiences in a specific culture or social group--individuals also construct meanings based on their unique experiences and understanding of those experiences. Even within routine situations, something new may occur. Or, an individual may find him/herself in a completely new situation. When something novel occurs, when what is assumed will happen does not, some aspect of the world becomes problematic. The

individual may deal with the problem to continue acting in the social world.¹ It is through the combination of socially given and individually constructed courses of action that individuals make social arrangements. These arrangements produce the sort of order that allows the individual to "experience his life as making sense" (Berger, 1977, p. 5).

Prior structures of relevance influence what the individual perceives as problematic. Individuals construct such structures from childhood as individuals interact with the objective world, other individuals, and with the self. These structures provide interpretive frameworks or schemes which guide an individual's perceptions of the objective world and the meanings the individual assigns to that world (Shutz, 1967, p. 83-86). As Berger (1977) noted, "these socially established patterns of thought provide the individual with what, paraphrasing Erving Goffman, we might call his basic reality kit--the cognitive and normative tools for the construction of a coherent universe in which to live" (p. xii).²

¹ Individuals can, and often do, ignore the problematic. This may be due to an inability to perceive what is problematic, an inability to construct alternative courses to deal with the problematic, or a conscious choice not to deal with the problem. In symbolic interaction research, the problems individuals do not attend to are often as important as the ones they attend to and act on.

² Relevance structures may be shared with members of groups with which the individual is presently affiliated; however, these structures may also be shared with members of groups the individual participated in in the past with which the individual may no longer be affiliated. With regard to schools and schooling in complex societies, Herskovits was one of the first anthropologists to discuss individuals' affiliations with multiple cultural groups. These groups provided individuals with what Herskovits (1948) termed 'sub-cultural frames of reference.' Structures derived from past group interaction make up what Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss (1961) term an individual's latent culture. Symbolic interactionists studying schools have found that multiple student and teacher sub-cultures exist in any school (Lacey, 1977; Woods, 1983). These sub-cultures include groups to which individuals belong in the school and groups that have their origins outside the school community. These sub-cultures provide teachers and students with perspectives for interpreting the social world and with strategies for acting in that world. These perspectives and strategies may or may not be shared with other members of the school community.

The construction of a coherent universe occurs primarily through language, through conversations with significant others, and with one's self. Schutz and Luckman (1973) wrote that in some face-to-face interactions individuals act according to the typifications--attributes, functions, behavior--they ascribe to individuals with whom they are acting. Schutz and Luckman termed such interactions 'they' relationships (p. 77). Woods (1983) argued that 'types' may be prescribed by society, or they may be "actively constructed in accordance with the individual's generally held definition of the situation" (p. 3).

In other interactions, individuals interact with individuals rather than types to actively construct their shared social world. Schutz and Luckman called these interactions "we relationships" (1973, p. 64-68). "We" relationships validate the individual's understanding of the world. Berger (1977) noted that not all individuals are equally important in validating one's world. Rather, significant others are the primary source of validation. It is through speech, through conversations that

The reality of the world is sustained. . . . This reality includes not only the imagery by which fellowmen are viewed, but also the way in which one views oneself. The reality-bestowing force of social relationships depends on the degree of their nearness, that is, the degree to which social relationships occur in face-to-face situations and to which they are credited with primary significance by the individual. (p. 7-8)

By uncovering the taken-for-granted structures individuals use to construct their coherent universe, one learns "how social relationships are *objectively* structured and distributed, and . . . how they are *subjectively* perceived and experienced" (p. 7). Understanding the objective and the subjective and their interrelationship is the goal of symbolic interaction and sociology of knowledge research.

Assumptions and Implications for Research

Several assumptions about the individuals are evident in symbolic interaction theory as discussed above. One is that individuals do not just act in the world, they also construct the world in which they act. This construction is influenced by relevance structures, frameworks of meaning developed over an individual's life. These structures influence the way in which an individual perceives, interprets, and acts in the world. Relevance structures are built through experience in the world, social interaction with others, and through self dialogue (Blumer, 1969). Social interaction with others and with the self occurs through conversations, through language, through the conscious hammering out of shared meanings. Physical proximity of a group of people--such as an office staff, a school faculty, or a group of students--does not, however, guarantee that shared relevance structures will exist. If there is no opportunity for dialogue or for the conscious development of shared meanings, people in the same group may in fact not share the same framework for constructing a coherent world in which to act. In such instances, the latent cultures of the prior groups with whom the individual constructed shared relevance structures will provide the individual with the conceptual tools and strategies he/she needs to make sense of the world and act in it.

Researchers using a symbolic interaction framework to develop and conduct research studies, make one further assumption: it is possible to identify the relevance structures guiding an individual's actions and conversations in the social world. To achieve this end, the researcher engages in long-term face-to-face interactions with individuals he/she seeks to understand. Woods (1983) stated that one year is a generally accepted amount of time (p. 17). Long-term interactions include participation with and observation of individuals as they act in the

empirical world in a variety of contexts, documentation of events in field notes or on tape, and in-depth interviewing.

Symbolic interactionists make one important point related to the study of relevance structures. Relevance structures are not the actions and words that a researcher observes. Rather, as Schutz (1967) and Gubrium (1988, pp. 13-14) have discussed, the words and actions are ways in which individuals articulate the relevance structures as they act in the world. Through long term participant observation and the documentation and analysis of an individual's words and actions, the researcher is able "to trace back to" the relevance structures guiding an individual's actions (Schutz, p. 217).

Doing research from a symbolic interactionist perspective is a labor intensive process. It also requires that the researcher analyze his/her "own reactions, motives and intentions, [and come to understand] the intricate interplay between 'I' and 'Me' and 'others' within the self [as researcher]" (Woods, 1983, p. 16). This self understanding is essential in the doing of symbolic interaction research, since the researcher is the observer who records, analyzes, and interprets the actions and conversations of individuals as he/she attempts to understand the meanings that guide those actions. If a researcher is not aware of his/her own assumptions and ways in which those assumptions are guiding what is observed and recorded, the researcher may misunderstand or misinterpret the actions and conversations of individuals. This point was discussed by Mead (1938):

Significance from the standpoint of the observer may be said to be present in the gesture which calls out the appropriate response in the other or others within the cooperative act, but it does not become significant to the individuals who are involved in the act unless the tendency to act is aroused within the individual who makes it and unless the individual who is directly affected by the gestures puts himself in the attitude of the individual who makes the gesture. (p. 547)

Thus, the researcher must make sure that the significance he/she attributes to an observed gesture or other symbols are in fact the significance which the individuals attribute to them.

The Role of Context in Symbolic Interaction Research

In symbolic interaction theory and research, the identification of context is of primary importance in understanding the meaning that actions and words have for individuals. Perinbanayagam (1985) discussed this point with regard to the analysis of conversations:

The larger context in which an utterance is made must also be taken into account. . . . Meanings allow one to take action, certainly, but the statements that are considered signifying ones are nearly always parts of larger context and evolving chains and gain their standing only in such contexts. Independent sentences--that is, sentences outside a context--are always incomplete and usually cry out for the companionship of other statements and situations to become fully significant. (p. 12)

In Context and Thought, Dewey (1930) argued that in "the face to face communications of everyday life . . . context . . . gives point to everything said" (p. 206). The identification of context, however, is not an easy task. Dewey noted that it "is taken for granted . . . is incorporated in what is said and forms the arbiter of the value of every utterance" (p. 206). With respect to context in school settings, Woods (1983) wrote that a school "consists of a number of different contexts and situations" (p. 6) in which the same individuals perceive, interpret and act in different ways. Situations aren't "simply the scene of action, [but also have] an effect on the action. . . . For the situation has to be interpreted by actors" (p. 6). It is through long-term interaction with group members and the recording of "how each person in the group acted in a wide variety of situations" (Spindler, 1963, p. 364) that the importance and meaning of context and situations are uncovered. Thus, context is both situational and individual.

With regard to the individual, Dewey (1930) discussed several aspects of context: background, habits, present disposition and capacity to attend to aspects of the objective world (p. 208). Additionally, in understanding context, one must identify "the limiting conditions set by the contextual situation" (p. 209). Two of these limitations are temporal and spacial. The temporal quality of context for Dewey included traditions, habits of mind that "are ways of interpreting and of observation, of valuation, of everything explicitly thought of" (p. 214). These habits of mind exist in the present, but are the result of prior experience and interaction with the objective world. Uncovering and understanding the conditions that preceeded an individual's actions and words observed in the present are important tasks in the uncovering of context.

The spatial quality of context is "all the contemporary setting within which a course of thinking emerges" (Dewey, 1930, p. 215), and, I would add, a course of action. The observed thought or action occurs within a setting which is comprised of a foreground and a background: the foreground being the event observed in its immediate setting, with the background being the setting which gives importance to the event. In this study, for example, the events I looked at, the foreground, were classroom instruction and interaction as they evolved in the process of program implemetation. The background included the schools and the district in which the events occurred.

In the study of the sociology of knowledge the temporal structure of everyday life has two important aspects (Berger & Luckman, 1967, p. 26). Not only does daily life have its own standard time, which in the school includes the way in which teachers organize events and structure the daily activities. "Temporal structure [also] provides the historicity that determines my situation in the world of everyday life [it] not only imposes prearranged sequences upon the 'agenda' of

any single day but also imposes itself upon my biography as a whole" (Berger & Luckman, p. 28). This temporal historicity of individuals' life experiences provides the foundation from which individuals construct what Schutz called "interpretive schemes of experience" (1967, p. 83) which they use to give meaning to the social world and their actions in that world. Without attending to the temporal quality of context, interpretation of individual action is meaningless, "merely an incident signifying nothing" (Dewey, 1930, p. 214).

In this study, the aspect of the empirical to which I attended was the role individual teachers play in the implementation of programs to educate linguistically and culturally different students. In the following sections of this review, I used the symbolic interactionist theories, research assumptions and considerations discussed above as a framework to critique the studies. Four questions guided the rest of the review: (a) What aspects of the empirical world have program implementation researchers studied; (b) What do we know about the classroom-level realities of educating linguistically and culturally diverse students; (c) What do we know about the ways teachers perceive and give meaning to the process of teaching and of educating language minority students; (c) What do we know about the role individual teachers play in the program implementation process in general and in bilingual education and teaching English as a second language specifically; and (d) What other aspects need to be studied?

Program Innovation Research

Until recently, educational innovation researchers had primarily examined the process of program implementation from three perspectives: technological, political, and cultural (Smith et al, 1984). Researchers using a technological perspective tend to view educational innovation as the imposition of rational, linear programs on schools and teachers. Research conducted from such a perspective

is grounded in values of "prediction, control, and clarity" (Lieberman, 1984, p. 85). Such research often reflects the assumptions of the policymakers who develop and implement the educational innovation being studied. McLaughlin (1990) has noted, for example, that federal educational programs developed in the 1960s and early 70s "were based on relatively unexamined assumptions about change in public schools and the role of the government (or policy) in affecting it. Policy makers formulating these early federal education initiatives assumed a relatively direct relationship between federal policy 'inputs,' local responses, and program 'output'" (p. 11). Program researchers who documented program effects looked for measurable program results and neglected the process of program implementation.

Technological and Political Perspective: Some Early Studies

One of the first studies that illustrated the technological approach was Walter Williams' (1971) extensive examination of Head Start and other government programs implemented under the War on Poverty illustrates. Documented throughout Williams' study was the policymakers' assumption that federal programs would affect massive changes at the local level. Early policy analysis was framed in a system analysis approach and focused on the "likelihood that a major decision concerning a substantive change in the agency's programs or policies [could] be implemented to yield a positive outcome for beneficiaries of the program" (p. 131). Policy makers who used a system analysis approach, used research findings to construct a model of the system, the agency that would be responsible for implementing the policy. Policy decisions were made based on abstract understandings of what those people were like and how they would behave as components of a system. In such an approach, little or no regard is given to the role individuals play in the interpretation and implementation of policy

in daily life. Williams discussed problems inherent in the systems analysis research methodology used to evaluate program implementation. He also examined the conflict between the demands of research and the demands of the policymakers who wanted to use the findings to make policy. Without substantive changes in attitudes toward outcome assessment, as well as attention to documenting the implementation process, Williams felt, "we seem destined to return to the same point without greatly increasing our knowledge" (p. 102).

Zimmet's (1973) two-year ethnographic project documented effects of the 1969 Decentralization Law in a South Bronx school district in New York City. His study illustrated the political perspective in research on program implementation. Zimmet found that politics at the state level had resulted in an ambiguous law reflecting tensions between those supporting decentralization and community control and those wanting to maintain the status quo. One of the more important aspects of the study was Zimmet's ability to unravel the complex contextual factors that combined to prevent the redistribution of power and to block the community from accomplishing "those objectives that proponents of decentralization and community control contend would lead to increased school effectiveness" (p. 35). Zimmet's study also documented the prevailing assumptions underlying educational reform--that changes in the law, in administrative practices, or the redistribution of power--would result in higher student achievement. Although the law was supposed to change what went on in the schools, the impact the new law actually had on educational practices was never documented.

The Rand Change Agent Study conducted from 1973 to 1978 was a comprehensive national study of program implementation. The research sample was taken from 18 states and included 293 local projects that had been funded

under four federal programs. The study produced eight published volumes of data. The findings were recently reexamined by McLaughlin (1990), one of the researchers involved in the original study. The following ideas were discussed by McLaughlin: "local factors (rather than federal program guidelines or project methods) dominated project outcomes" (p. 11). Among the local factors identified were the will and motivation of the local school personnel to "embrace policy objectives and strategies." Additionally, "teachers will or motivation is contingent on the attitudes of school administrators or district officials" (p. 13). Although the Rand researchers did consider teachers, the findings were based on questionnaires and not on classroom observations of teachers or what they did and why as they attempted to implement the programs. The findings also give the impression that teachers are passive agents whose ability to implement programs depends more on administrative attitudes than on their own understandings and abilities.

Finally, Wolcott's (1977) classic study Teachers versus Technocrats extensively documented one school district's implementation of a seemingly flawless management system. The system, designed by systems experts, was intended "to help schools plan, budget, operate, and evaluate their total educational program" (p. 1). Wolcott documented ways in which the system failed because of the lack of fit between the program, the social context, and the socially constructed reality of the teachers who were expected to use it.

Decentralization and School-Based Management: Current Research

School districts throughout the United States are currently implementing school-based management reforms. After his study of decentralization, Brown (1990) stated that school-based management "means simply that schools within a district are allocated money to purchase supplies, equipment, personnel, utilities,

maintenance, and perhaps other services according to their own assessment. . . . A [school district's] change to school-based management implies greater flexibility of decision-making, changes in role accountability (particularly for the principal), and the potential enhancement of school productivity" (p. vii). Brown's study was based on interviews with administrators in 114 school districts--70 that had implemented decentralization reforms and 44 that were centralized. The interviewees were selected based on recommendations of superintendents or their designates (p. 120). The purpose was to "produce an impartial analysis of how school-based management works and what its effects are" (p. viii).

Brown found that a central concern in the decentralization process is who has the control over educational resources. The underlying assumption Brown identified was that by redistributing the authority to allocate resources, schools will be more productive. Snyder and Anderson (1986) defined productivity as the ability "to produce measurable results (academic products)" (p. xii). Brown noted that such a definition of productivity "is derived from a systems model. . . . [However,] theorists on organizations devote very little emphasis to questions about productivity" (p. 244-245). Thus, when researchers examine school reform from a decentralization perspective generally, they use a systems analysis approach. Inputs include changes in the system. Outputs include both cost effectiveness and other management issues and increased student academic performance. Yet, few research-derived answers exist about "how schools produce learning" (Brown, p. 83). In fact, few researchers have examined whether or not decentralization changes actually contribute to student learning. Instead, the research emphasis has been on the decentralization process and related management issues such as cost-effectiveness (Brown, 1990, pp. 234-255). The

effects of decentralization on teachers classroom practices as they implement new policies has not been a research concern.

Bilingual Education Program Research

Bilingual education program evaluation research follows the outcome oriented tradition of policy implementation research. In one of the first national program evaluation studies of bilingual education commonly called the AIR study (Dannoff, Coles, McLaughlin, & Reynolds, 1978), bilingual education was treated as a single variable, as a treatment students received. Federally funded versus locally funded programs were also compared. Students' pre/post standardized mathematics and reading achievement test scores determined program effectiveness. The researchers did not document how programs actually were implemented in the school districts studied.

Program evaluations that followed the AIR study were based on similar research designs. Methodological flaws in the early evaluation studies have been discussed at length by such researchers as Baker & deKanter (1983), Cardenas (1977) Crawford (1989), Hakuta (1986), and Stein (1986). Although bilingual education program evaluation research has developed a broader focus, recent studies (Collier, 1987; Ramirez, Yuen & Ramey, 1991) still reflect the assumption that instruction in the native language and the length of time such instruction is received are the most important independent variables influencing program outcomes. Outcome research has helped convince funding agencies that bilingual programs worked and deserved future funding. However, little attention has been paid to why or how programs worked. The role of individual teachers as they symbolically construct educational programs in bilingual or ESOL classrooms has been virtually ignored. Researchers have not asked such questions as: (a) what information do teachers actually present to students and

how, (b) what instructional materials are used and why, and (c) do teachers deliver the program as it is designed?

As with federal program implementation research in general, bilingual education and ESOL program research and program evaluation studies have reflected the technological perspective. Underlying this perspective is the policy=program= output paradigm. "Rather than emphasize research that might give insights to teachers on effective classroom practices and how they might help limited-English-proficient students, [policymakers have] expended. . . much energy on research of questionable quality and validity that asks, 'has it worked?' . . . [This] simplistic question ignores the complexity" (ASCD, 1987) of bilingual program implementation and the role of the teacher in that process

The Institutional Emphasis

The emphasis on the technological, political, and cultural aspects of the innovation process has guided program innovation research. One effect of this emphasis is that researchers have focused on the institutional aspects of programs to the neglect of individuals. The institutional focus, central to sociological research approaches, is derived from the maxim that "human action is socially determined by institutions and by public opinion" (Lindenberg, 1986, pp. 20). This focus is reflected in Bogdan and Taylor's statement that "all settings and subjects are similar while retaining their uniqueness. This means that qualitative researchers can study certain general social processes in any single setting or through any single subject. They hope to observe and understand these general processes as they occur under specific circumstances" (1975, p. 12). By focusing on general social processes, researchers have neglected individual teachers and the social contexts in which they work. The following statement illustrates the

institutional focus that underlies educational policy research (Berger and Luckman, 1967):

Hence the social interaction between teachers and learners can be formalized. The teachers need not be significant others in any sense of the word. They are institutional functionaries with the formal assignment of transmitting specific knowledge. The roles of secondary socialization carry a high degree of anonymity; that is, they are readily detached from their individual performers. The same knowledge taught by one teacher could also be taught by another. Any functionary of this type could teach this type of knowledge. The individual functionaries may, of course, be subjectively differentiated in various ways (as more or less congenial, better or worse teachers of arithmetic, and so on), but they are in principle interchangeable (p. 142).

Policy innovation researchers have treated teachers as mere functionaries who simply implement the programs policy makers give them. Such research ignores the role teachers play in the interpretation and construction of the classroom world within the social context of school and community. Individuals, as distinct agents, often get lost within their assigned macro-level categories, and categories are knitted together into a neat and seamless theory of human behavior (Wrong, 1976). Such theories are pleasing to policy makers because they suggest that the social world is rather simple and that human behavior is malleable.

In education, such research findings suggest the successful implementation of, say, an English as a second language (ESOL) program is simply the matter of choosing the best program and finding the most effective way to train teachers (and by extension, students) to conform to its requirements. Individuals are bent to fit programs, programs are not constructed to fit the requirements of individuals. When such programs fail to get the results that were promised, policy makers assume the training was inadequate, the program was faulty, or, if documentation indicates the program was implemented properly, that the students are to blame. Policy makers seldom question their own assumption that

individuals are infinitely malleable. They seldom consider the social context and the way in which the program may actually be enacted in the classroom.

Program implementation research has been rich and varied.³ System and school level factors affecting the implementation process and stages in the process itself have been identified and studied. Yet much of the current literature still looks at teaching as a role within the complex organization of schools and is based on interviewing rather than long-term classroom observation and documentation of the teachers' perspective during the implementation process. What is missing are studies that document how programs are actually presented in the classroom and the teachers' role in constructing those programs.

Teachers Perceptions of Their Workplace

Although the importance of the teacher's role as an active agent in the program implementation process had not been a focus of study in most educational innovation research, there is a wide body of literature that can provide insight teachers' perceptions of the world in which they work. Typically researchers have not specifically documented the daily program innovation process at the classroom level from the teachers' perspective. However, they have examined factors that affect teachers' perspectives of teaching and of their workplace. Results of these studies offer valuable insight into aspects of teaching and schools that influence the program implementation process.

³ Reviews of research on program implementation and related topics are available throughout the school restructuring literature. Lieberman (1984) offers a synthesis of research on school organization, the role of teachers within that organization, and the implementation process. Rosenholtz (1989) reviews research on the social organization of schools. Webb and Ashton (1986) review literature on the teachers' perspective of their work and workplace.

One of the first attempts to document teachers' perspectives of teaching and the problems that concerned them was School Teacher (Lortie, 1975). When he began his research, Lortie found that

although books and articles instructing teachers on how they should behave are legion, empirical studies of teaching work--and the outlook of those who staff the schools--remain rare. (p. vii-viii)

Teaching has not been subjected to the sustained, empirical, and practice-oriented inquiry into problems and alternatives which we find in other university-based professions. (p. 69)

Research in education . . . has concentrated on learning rather than on teaching. (p. 70)

One of Lortie's primary goals was to identify the "pattern of orientations and sentiments which is peculiar to teachers and which distinguishes them from members of other occupations. . . . [These patterns were derived] from both the structure of the occupation and the meanings teachers attach to their work" (p. viii).

Lortie was one of the first researchers to look at teachers' perspectives. His research methodology included national and local surveys, other research findings and intensive interviews with selected survey respondents. Data were collected over a 10-year period and from thousands of teachers: 6,000 alone were from Dade County, Florida. The result was a comprehensive analysis of teachers' perspectives about teaching as an occupation, as a role within an organization, and as a professional activity conducted in schools and classrooms. Lortie identified eight general topics around which he discussed the teachers' perspectives: recruitment, socialization, career and work rewards, educational goals, aspects of the social context that facilitate or prevent the realization of those goals, general sentiments about teaching, and teacher preferences in their day-to-day interactions.

Lortie discussed several findings that are significant for my study. One is that the process by which teachers are socialized is not "well suited to inculcating commonly held, empirically derived, and rigorously grounded practices and principles of pedagogy. . . . Teachers say that their principal teacher has been experience; they learn to teach through trial and error in the classroom" (p. 79). "They depend on their own perceptions to gauge the effectiveness of their teaching" (p. 74). "Influences from others are screened through personal conceptions and subjected to pragmatic trial" (p. 80). Throughout the school year, self evaluation of effectiveness is the primary means teachers use to evaluate their teaching. Teachers, however, "have divergent competencies; these differences, however, do not receive formal acknowledgement in the cellular structure of schools" (p. 146). These factors --the social isolation of teachers, the lack of shared understandings about teaching and classroom practice, the tendency of teachers to rely on their own perceptions and understandings when planning (p. 144) and evaluating their instructional programs, and the lack of acknowledgement of teacher differences by policy makers in the educational bureaucracy--support the need to study program implementation from the teachers' perspective.

In 1980, Lipsky conducted an extensive study of bureaucracies from the perspective of street-level bureaucrats, those who implement policy directives in education and other social services. Lipsky examined general issues and not the implementation of a specific program; however, he identified important problems, what he called dilemmas, that street-level bureaucrats must resolve as they attempt to provide social services to the public. Some of the dilemmas that influenced the ability of street-level bureaucrats to do their jobs are relevant to the implementation of educational innovation: (a) conflict between practitioners and

managers over the scope and substance of public services; (b) level of practitioner autonomy and bureaucratic control; (c) lack of resources, and (d) the contradiction between a bureaucracy's objectives and accountability as a fiscal agency with its objectives and accountability as a service provider. These dilemmas among others affect the quality and scope of the services street-level bureaucrats deliver to the public. Lipsky recommended helping street-level bureaucrats to become proponents of change as well as helping them develop the skills necessary to institute and sustain change. Such efforts, Lipsky argued, would require significant changes in the bureaucratic role structure, in the power relationships between groups within the bureaucracy. Lipsky concluded that "significant changes in street-level bureaucracy are likely to be realized only in the context of social changes that support the relationships that must be forged" (p. 193).

The dichotomy between school fiscal management and the delivery of services--the provision of the best possible instructional programs to educate children--is of crucial importance in understanding the issue of educational innovation and reform. Since 1910, school administrators have been seen as managers who were responsible for the management of fiscal resources and people (Callahan, 1962). Teachers on the other hand were traditionally not part of management. Their job was one of delivering services or instruction to students. Managing teacher efficiency, the effective use of time and resources, became a primary responsibility of the principal. Taylor (1912), for example, proposed that each grade should be viewed as having a "measured quantity of work to be accomplished in a given term," and that teachers who were unable to produce results should be "eliminated" (p. 350-351). By 1918, teacher rating scales and standardized achievement tests had become the standard by which teacher efficiency was to be judged (Callahan, p. 110-111). Johnson documented (1990)

this perspective has changed, and much of the current research and reforms on school restructuring argue the need to place control of the workplace in the hands of the teachers. Johnson noted, however, that current researchers are still framing their studies within the management and policy aspects of schools. While this approach "has met with greater favor among teachers. . . it begs the question of how schools should be organized for better teaching and learning" (xvii).

Program innovations and program innovation research, have for the most part looked at educational innovation from the administrative and management perspective of the educational bureaucracy and the fiscal agency aspects of the educational system (Lieberman, 1984, p. 81). Educational reforms are viewed within a system analysis framework and teachers are treated as one component of a complex bureaucratic system. One effect of such an approach is that teachers are often expected to passively implement whatever programs they are given Gitlin (1990). Instruction is equated with productivity and student achievement test scores become the criteria for measuring how well the teachers implemented the programs. When innovations fail, i.e., when actual test scores do not meet the projected scores, recommendations may be made to regulate teachers ever more. The micro-level variables affecting the teaching process are rarely considered in such reforms or related research. Classroom studies of individual teachers, how they understood what they were to do and how they tried to implement the programs they were given are missing from the research literature.

The distinction between the fiscal agency and the service provider aspects of education is central to my study. Most of the school-based management reforms documented in the literature focus on giving teachers and community members more say in fiscal management and scheduling. Few places seem to be giving teachers and community members the responsibility to decide what needs to be

taught, how it needs to be taught, and how we can best evaluate the success of the instructional program. For the most part, educational reforms are still being decided away from the classrooms and are being imposed on teachers. Massive reforms in Chicago (Hess, 1989), for example, involve management not instructional reform. The assumption reformers have made is that once the schools better manage the money, instruction will improve. While teacher input into fiscal management is important, teacher participation in such decisions may give them additional responsibilities that may negatively affect their ability to provide quality instruction complete their other teaching related tasks. Lortie (1975) discussed possible negative effects that greater participation in management decision making could have on classroom instruction. One possible effect was that the time needed for increased management responsibilities might in fact negatively affect instruction. Lipsky's work (1980), Webb and Ashton's research on teacher efficacy (1986), Lieberman's (1984, 1988) and Rosenholtz's (1989) research on teachers' workplace, school culture and the social organization of the schools indicate the potential for the effects Lortie identified.

Researchers have looked at teachers' perspectives of teaching, the social conditions of schools, and the multiple social contexts that press on teachers and often prevent them from teaching. Lipsky (1980) documented the dilemmas that confront teachers and other social service personnel in the delivery of services to the public. Webb and Ashton (1986) looked at teachers' sense of efficacy and how it was promoted or diminished by the social context of school. Lieberman (1984) extensively reviewed the research on program implementation and the social organization of schools. She also looked at the teaching from the teachers' perspective and documented the contextual factors--the problematic--that face teachers daily in the school and in the classroom. More recently, Johnson (1990)

identified seven features of the workplace that contribute to teacher productivity-- physical components organizational structure, sociological issues related to the role of teacher, political aspects, economic conditions, school culture, and psychological aspects such as stress (p. xvii).

In his recent book Raising Silent Voices, Trueba (1989) discusses common problems that teachers of language minority students must resolve when developing appropriate instructional programs for language minority students. These include the following: the need to follow a common curriculum; the emphasis on standardized testing as an indication of teacher effectiveness; the emphasis on "meeting the demands of the bureaucratic school organization" (p. 113); inability to communicate with students; conflict between students needs and those of the system; and teacher isolation (pp. 109-116). Trueba's recommendations to enable teachers to resolve the problems they face include the following: the inclusion of teachers in the selection of content; development of personal strategies derived from experience to accomodate student cultural differences; and organizational support for teachers through peer groups and instructional leadership. The research Trueba reviewed and the recommendations he made view teachers of language minority students and teaching in terms of the service function of schools. Similar to problems facing teachers in regular academic programs, (Lipsky, 1980; Webb & Aston; 1986), the biggest problem facing bilingual and ESOL teachers is a bureaucratic system that prevents them from effectively teaching their students.

Summary

In the studies documenting the teachers' perspectives of teaching and their workplace, researchers have sought to identify aspects of the social context that enhance or prevent teachers from teaching and to examine those aspects from the

teachers perspective. In all these studies, the goal was on finding the common cultural patterns and themes that comprise the role of teacher and on identifying the organizational contextual factors that press upon teachers as they teach within the context of U.S. schools. One implication discussed by these authors is the way in which social relationships in the schools would need to be changed to build professional school cultures and to provide teachers with the social and instructional support they would need to maintain those cultures.

The research on teachers' perspectives of their workplace is extensive. System and school level factors affecting the implementation process and stages in the process itself have been identified and studied. Teachers' perspectives of program implementation have also been examined. Yet much of the current literature still looks at teaching as a role within the complex organization of schools and is based on interviewing rather than long-term classroom observation and documentation of the teachers' perspective during the implementation process. Such research leaves us with a question: Are teachers functionaries shaped by culture who perform their social roles or are they also individuals who construct the social roles they perform? Research on teachers as individuals and how they actually perceive and construct the classroom social world and deal with the problems that confront them as they implement educational innovations would add clarification to the question. The study reported here is one attempt to provide some understanding of the question.

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The research data I discuss in Chapters IV, V, and VI are based on a fourteen-month ethnographic study conducted in one urban school district in the United States. In the study I used the values and related research methods of ethnography to examine the implementation of a content-based English language program (CBEP) from the perspective of four teachers. Ethnographers do fieldwork and conduct interviews in order to study what Geertz (1973) has called the "lived lives" of participants. For this project, I observed and participated in school and classroom activities. Fieldwork activities also included participation in the daily lives of the teachers in their homes and communities. Additional data collection methods included unobtrusive and nonreactive measures, taped interviews with the teachers, and pre- and post-testing of all students. This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I discuss the fieldwork methods used in the study. Next, I present my rationale for choosing ethnography and discuss issues in doing ethnographic research as they relate to this study. Finally, I discuss the methods and theoretical frameworks used to analyze and make sense of the data.

Entry into the Field: Initial Contact

My first contact with Urbantown was in the early 1980s. I conducted a two-day workshop for bilingual education and ESL teachers on teaching reading to non-English speaking children. Urbantown had had a Spanish/English bilingual program since the mid 1970s. I assumed that the Spanish-speaking student population had grown and that students from a greater variety of countries had settled in Urbantown.

I focused the workshop on teaching English to Spanish-speaking refugees and immigrant students.

My assumptions about the Urbantown student population turned out to be wrong. The teachers' primary worry was how to teach the children of the Southeast Asian refugees that had settled in Urbantown since 1981. They asked such questions as: How can I communicate with my students when I do not speak their language and they do not speak mine? How can I teach older elementary school children colors, numbers, and how to hold a pencil? How can I bring children who have little or no formal schooling up to grade level? How do I help children make the sign/symbol correspondence necessary for reading when they are illiterate even in their native language? What are the linguistic and cultural differences I need to be aware of to teach Southeast Asian students from Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia? How can I help my students learn the language, academic and cultural knowledge and skills they need to survive in my school's regular academic program? I was unable to answer their questions.

I returned to Gainesville and began searching for materials that would help the Urbantown teachers. I found that few were available. The Manual for Indochinese Refugee Education 1976-1977, published by the National Indochinese Clearinghouse (1977), for example, indicated research on Cambodian, Black Thai, Laotian, and Hmong was "either non-existent, sketchy, or unavailable" (p. 65). Rubin (1981), in her extensive review of services for Indochinese students, found that most educational materials were developed for adults and little information was available on teaching children in the public schools.

Entry into the Field: The Present Study

In March of the year the study was conducted, Bill, the Coordinator of the Urbantown Bilingual/ESL programs, asked me to evaluate a new Content-Based

English Program that the teachers and administrators had proposed to the school board. I saw the need to study Urbantown's proposed program because of my prior contact with the district. My inability to locate appropriate materials convinced me of the need to do a study that would document the program from its design through its implementation. Furthermore, I reviewed the research literature and found no studies that specifically addressed the issues related to educating the new refugees.¹ The process of ESL program design and implementation had been virtually ignored. I believed that through a long-term ethnographic study of the program and those implementing it, insight could be gained into the process of teacher-initiated educational reform.

I accepted Bill's offer and made arrangements to meet with him and the teachers who had initiated the program and would work to develop and implement it. At these meetings we discussed the following: (a) research issues such as pre- and post-testing, classroom observations, and documentation of the implementation process; (b) ways to address those issues in the data collection process; (c) the roles that the

¹ Before 1978, adult Indochinese refugees entering the United States had an average of 9.5 years of education. More than 80% had some knowledge of English. Rumbaut & Weeks (1986) indicated that from 1978 to 1983 the educational level of Indochinese adult refugees entering the United States dropped from 9.5 to 6.3 years. The percentage of refugees with a knowledge of English also dropped from 80% to 55%. Furthermore, 80% of the refugees entering the U.S. from 1978 to 1983 were living in poverty. Since 1983, the Indochinese adults entering the U.S. have been mostly the rural poor, farmers, and semi-skilled laborers. Many of these refugees have had little or no schooling in their own languages or in English. (Mueller, 1984; National Coalition of Advocates for Students (NCAS), 1988). Similar to their parents, many refugee children are illiterate or semi-literate in their own languages, and they have had little or no experience with a traditional academic curriculum or with the culture of school (NCAS, 1988, p. 7; Education Week, 1986). For these children, schooling means developing listening, speaking, and literacy skills in a second language, as well as catching up with the academic, experiential, and cultural knowledge that their U.S. born peers have spent most of their lives learning. I found no studies that addressed these issues.

teachers, school personnel, and I would assume during the study; our role-related responsibilities; (d) my research requirements and those of the participants and ways those requirements could be met given the constraints of the research setting; and (e) our perceived purpose for doing the study and our related expectations. We also discussed possible limitations of the findings and ways they would or would not meet our expectations. For example, Bill wanted to be able to prove to the school board that the computer software purchased for the program had increased student achievement test scores. I discussed with him the research requirements necessary for such a study. By talking about our wishes, what we wanted to do with the data, versus the reality of the research setting, Bill and I were able to develop a research design we both liked.

Once I obtained an informal agreement from the teachers and principals to participate in the study, I met with the Urbantown school district Supervisor of Research and Development. He helped me to develop the proposal I eventually presented to the Urbantown School Board. Once the Board approved my study, I applied for approval from the University of Florida Human Subjects Committee. The purpose of this committee is to insure that proposed research will not harm the participants. I submitted a research proposal and a copy of my teacher and parent consent forms to the Committee. Approval from that committee was granted in August.

A translator employed by the school board translated the parent consent forms for me. Many of the words and technical concepts had no direct translation into the Southeast Asian languages. The concept of field research, for example, was unfamiliar not only to the translator, but to most of the parents. The translator and I worked to develop a letter that would explain the study and provide the parents with meaningful information. The fact that I was even asking the parents' permission to

allow their children to be in the study was a foreign concept. Since I was the expert, in their countries, I would never have asked parents for permission to do something in my field of expertise. The first week of school, the translator and I explained the study to the students at the elementary and junior high schools. We discussed the need for the parent consent form. All but three letters were returned.

Teachers and Bill gave their verbal agreement to participate in the project and were told that at any time they could withdraw from the study. They signed the written consent forms and were given the option to refuse to have their data included in the final report. The principals agreed to have the study conducted at their schools. They were not primary participants in the study, and I did not ask them to sign written consent forms. As a result, some of the data I gathered by observing and talking with the principals and talking with the teachers about the principals was omitted from the dissertation.

The data regarding the principals enabled me to understand the complex social context within which the CBE Program was implemented and to document the crucial role principals play in the program implementation process at the classroom level. Some of these data are presented in Chapters V, VI, and VII. The omitted data provided evidence that the principals as well as the teachers were individuals who socially constructed the roles they played. While the roles were very much a product of the district social context, at the same time, the two principals differed in the ways that they interpreted and implemented district policy. They were also different in the ways in which they interacted with their teachers and staff to construct or to fail to construct a shared world view.

Data Collection and Fieldwork Methodology:
Reliability and Validity Concerns

In this section, I discuss the data collection techniques used in this ethnography. My purpose is to twofold: to present the reader with a framework from which to understand the information presented in this chapter, and to enable other researchers to duplicate my methods and conduct a similar investigation.

Ethnographic Reliability

The researcher as instrument is a central factor in the reliability of an ethnographic study. Shimahara (1984) has defined ethnographic reliability as the "repeatability of a given study by researchers other than the original participant observer: the extent to which independent researchers discover the same phenomena in comparable situations" (p. 71). As Trueba (1981) noted, reliability involves the "congruence between the ethnographer's interpretation of observed behavior and the social meaning attached to that behavior by the actors" (p. 24). The greater the congruence, the greater the possibility that other researchers would find similar phenomena.

Factors related to reliability have been discussed by Peshkin (1985):

What the researcher is allowed to see and whom the researcher is allowed to meet depends on who the researcher is perceived to be. . . . Corollary to this is the fact that throughout one's fieldwork numerous decisions are made about what to see and who to meet. Because of the researcher's priorities and unavoidable omissions, these decisions result in data stamped with the researcher's imprint. As a result, the data base from which a study is reconstructed bears the singular limitations and strengths inherent in the researcher's decisions. (1982, p. 52)

In addition to the researcher's choices and decisions, the participants' decisions about what to share with the researcher must also be considered. As Edgerton and Langness (1974) observed, "Human beings have an impressive ability to guess what social scientists want from them and to alter their behavior to please, confuse, and deceive those who have the audacity to *study them*" (emphasis the authors, p. 32).

Although many methods have been developed to account for or reduce this reaction on the part of the subjects,

no technique has proven so effective in this regard as prolonged participant observation. . . . Living with people makes it impossible for them to hide everything, and the longer one lives with them, the more difficult it is to hide everything . . . and the longer one lives with people and the better one knows them, the less likely it is that the presence of the investigator will produce unknown effects upon the behaviors the investigator is attempting to understand. (p. 32)

In the ethnographic account, reliability concerns are addressed by a complete description of the research process. Shimahara (1984) suggested four areas that the researcher should include: "a delineation of the physical, cultural, and social contexts of the study; a statement of the ethnographer's roles in the research setting; an accurate description of the conceptual framework of the research, and a complete description of the methods of data collection and analysis" (p. 71). In chapter IV, I describe the physical setting in which I conducted the study. I also describe the participants. In Chapter V, I describe the social context of the Urbantown school district, its historical development and present day qualities, and the ways in which that context influenced the implementation of the CBE Program. The conceptual framework for this study was discussed in Chapter II. I further discuss that framework in the sections 'Ethnographic Method and Related Concerns' and 'Analysis of the Data' in this chapter. Additionally, I describe the methods I used to collect the data for this study. In the section on "Ethnographic Methods and Concerns" I provide the rationale for choosing the types of activities I chose.

Field Research Methods

In this study, I wanted to document and understand the program implementation process from the perspective of the four teachers who helped develop and implement a content-based English program to educate Southeast Asian refugees. The method

I chose was ethnography and the theoretical framework was symbolic interactionism. I chose these approaches because they emphasize the discovery of individuals' perspectives. My direct contact with the teachers included approximately 850 hours. Archival research and interviewing of other community members totaled about 100 hours. In addition to direct contact with the participants, I spent about 60 hours at home working on the development of the program's Individualized Educational Program form (IEP) and on other program related materials. I read numerous books about the war in Southeast Asia and the Southeast Asian refugee experience in the United States. Additionally, I spent hundreds of hours typing and analyzing my field notes and taped interviews.

The primary data collection method I used was handwritten field notes to record observations. I averaged from 20 to 30 pages of notes for each two-hour observation. The least I had were 10, and the most were 50. I took continuous notes and developed my own notation system to indicate when a new speaker was talking. The format I used to type my notes was taken from Dobbert (1984, p. 256). Notes were transcribed exactly as my fieldnotes were written. I did not follow a traditional transcript format such as that used by sociolinguists. I did not begin a new line each time a teacher or student spoke. Protocols were single spaced with a two-inch margin for notes. Amount of fieldnotes varied with the types of activities I observed. I had as few as five and as many as 16 typed pages for each observation. I also had numerous two- and three-page incidents from short interviews and events such as conversations in the teachers lounge. Interviews were from 2 to 20 pages in length.

I had approximately 400 pages of typed field notes, and 150 handwritten pages that never were typed. I also collected unobtrusive measures that helped me to understand the programs the teachers were implementing: sample lesson plans, teacher made tests and materials, dittos and other activities the teachers used during

instruction, and samples of student work. Ellen, for example, had her students compile two books of life stories during the year. She also gave me copies of the journal she kept on her students. Jennifer had her students write thank you notes and make books about themselves. Additional measures I used included school, program, and district forms; school handbooks; and a copy of the CBEP Curriculum Guide.

One of the dilemmas of participant observation is that the more you participate, the less you can observe, and the more you observe, the less you can participate. In this study, I spent approximately 86 days or 600 hours in the schools. Of those, I spent 250 observing in the classrooms. The rest of the time I spent on various program related activities: 110 hours individually pre- and post-testing the students; 120 hours participating with teachers in non-instructional activities--such as lunch, planning periods, and recess at the elementary school; 70 hours developing Individual Educational Program forms and working on the Innovative School Program Award; and 30 hours on school-wide out of class activities--such as, the Christmas Party and awards assemblies at the elementary school, the junior high open house, International Day, and a field trip with the junior high students. I spent an additional 260 hours in a variety of on-site activities: interviewing community members, attending meetings, conducting archival research, making a presentation with CBEP personnel about the new program, participating with the teachers in after school activities, and staying in their homes.

Classroom observations

From August through December, I was in the schools a total of 230 hours. I conducted approximately 70 hours of informal observations and 10 hours of formal observations in the classroom. By informal observations I mean that while I was in the classrooms I did not sit and take formal field notes. My field data during this

period consisted primarily of a field journal. After observing, I would go to the teachers' lounge or stop at a restaurant on the way home and write down what I remembered seeing and hearing, questions I had about what the teachers were doing, and my perceptions in general about the participants and the program. Dobbert has referred to this type of data recording method as "low-detail" (p. 247-428). Such data rely on memory, should be used sparingly, and "full notes should always be written up before the end of the day" (p. 253). My purpose during this period was to understand how the teachers were organized their classrooms for instructional purposes, what kinds of problems they were encountering, and how they perceived what they were doing.

I did not take formal notes because the teachers had specifically asked me not to. The materials from Connors had not arrived, and the teachers did not feel that they were really implementing "the program." Since I told them at the beginning of the study that I wanted to document how they implemented the CBE Program, they felt that formal observations should begin once the materials had arrived and were "in place." Out of respect for the teachers, I complied with their request. They did know that I was making notes after my observations and were not opposed to that. I found the initial period of informal observation helpful me. The teachers got use to my presence, and, during the spring, they often forgot I was in the classroom.

From January through the first week in June, I was at the schools a total of 365 hours. I conducted approximately 160 hours of formal observations. Each time I entered the classroom, I drew a map of the classroom. I assigned each child in each class a number and recorded where the child was sitting that day. For the most part, seat assignments did not change after November. By giving each child a number, I was able to record fairly easily who the teachers were interacting with, what kinds of interactions they had, and how many times the teacher interacted with each student. I

was also able to identify the types of social interactions the students had with each other. Recording such interactions helped me to identify ways in which the teachers organized instruction.

Dobbert noted that "a fieldworker can only observe at one level at a time; no one can properly record the detailed interactions between two persons at a ceremony and record simultaneously the overall ceremony at the macro level" (p. 255). In this study, my primary concern was with understanding how the teachers were implementing the CBE Program. Observations lasted from 2 to 2.5 hours. The level I documented in detail was what the teachers said and did as I observed them. Although I did document in detail some student/student interactions, most of my notes on students were of a moderate level of detail. Dobbert (1984) defined detailed notes as "handwritten stenographic notes to record verbatim conversations or to make detailed records of interactions" (p. 248). Moderate detailed notes are "concrete, factual, and contain as much detail as can be comfortably recorded without interfering with the fieldworker's interaction with the informant or participation in the setting" (p. 250). After an observation I would go to the teachers lounge and 'flesh out' the notes. In other words, I would go over the notes and fill in a missed word or rewrite words or phrases that were not very legible. The purpose was to have accurate, as detailed notes as possible, before I left the field. I would also show my notes to the teachers and ask them to help me reconstruct an interaction if I had been unable to get the level of detail I wanted. "I can't believe you're getting all this down" and "you really are writing everything down, aren't you" were comments several teachers made. Of the four teachers, Jennifer Mitchell had an almost photographic memory and would not hesitate to tell me what I had omitted.

Additional observations

Several other times during the year I had the opportunity to make formal observations. One was during the week when the teachers worked together to finalize the CBE Program Guide. I took detailed notes at each session, paying attention to what Connors said and did and how the teachers responded. These notes provided me with some of my initial understanding of the teachers perceptions of the CBE Program. I also took notes during the pre-service all day workshop in August, the January in-service meeting, and parent advisory council meeting. I made notes after observing events such as teacher/teacher interactions, teacher/principal interactions and after attending meetings where it was inappropriate to take notes: student staffings, faculty meetings, and home visits.

Interviews

I conducted one formal taped interview with each teacher during the spring semester. The purpose of the interview was to have each teacher explain to me in as much detail as possible how she perceived the CBE Program, how she had organized her classroom, what materials she was using and why, what her instructional aims were, and what problems or concerns she had about the program as it was being implemented. At the end of the year, I also distributed a written questionnaire with six questions asking the teachers to describe the strengths and weaknesses of the program, discuss the materials they used, evaluate the effectiveness of the materials, and make recommendations for improving the program for the next year.

In addition to the taped interviews, I conducted informal interviews throughout the school year. The interviews were fairly unstructured and reflected the issues and questions I had in the course of conducting the study and analyzing the data. Often, I would just let the teachers talk. I usually wrote these interviews down while they occurred. I would always ask the teacher if she would mind if I wrote down what

she was telling me. Most of the informal interviews were conducted during the teachers' planning periods, in the classroom when the students were doing seat work, after school at scheduled times, and over the phone. Often, for example, the teachers would call me during the days I was not there to tell me something that had happened. These informal interviews averaged two to three typed pages.

I met with Bill, the CBE Program Coordinator several times a month at the School Board office. I generally took key word notes² and filled in my notes after the meeting. I had several formal interviews which I recorded in detail: two in the spring before I began the research and three more in January, April and May while I conducted the study. The interviews were open-ended. In each interview I was interested in Bill's perceptions of the program and the teachers as they were developing and implementing it.

I had several informal and two formal interviews with the Director of the Urbantown Refugee Resettlement Agency. My purpose in interviewing the Director was to help me understand the development of the Southeast Asian community in Urbantown. The Director gave me refugee population counts and demographic data about the refugees' educational backgrounds and economic status. In one interview, his assistant provided me with information about the refugee camps and the educational system in the camps. I also conducted one scheduled interview with John Meadows, manager of a plant in Urbantown where about 120 Southeast Asian adults worked. Meadows had worked with the Southeast Asians ever since their arrival in Urbantown and was friends with many of his employees. He gave me information about the hardships the adults face in adapting to life in the United States.

² Dobbert (1984) described key word notetaking as making a list of key words or phrases during an interview. "Then, when the interview is over or the event ended, the fieldworker immediately sits down to reconstruct the entire interview or event, using [the key word list] as a guide" (253).

He also gave me the names of leaders within the Southeast Asian community, two of whom I formally interviewed. Dr. Tran Schrak was a practicing MD in Urbantown. He had worked to establish after school educational programs for the refugee children. Lei Sambath had established a small family business and employed several Southeast Asians. He was very open and shared many of his initial experiences when he first arrived in Urbantown. He also had several children in the two schools where I conducted my research, and he shared his perceptions of the Urbantown educational programs.

These interviews provided me different perspectives on the Urbantown educational programs. I also learned about the background of many of the children and learned that some of my initial perceptions were not completely right. Some of the older students were, in fact, semi-literate in their own languages. Also, not all of the students had come from rural backgrounds. These interviews sensitized me to assumptions that I had brought to the field and enabled me to identify assumptions the teachers were making about their students.

Ethnographic questions

Central to the ethnographic process is the asking of ethnographic questions. The questions are initially based on the researcher's theoretical orientation and prior experience. What made him/her chose that problem in the first place? As the researcher enters the field and begins to interact with participants, new questions emerge from the data analysis. These questions guide further observations. This cycle is on-going throughout the research process. Spradley (1980) stated that "in ethnographic inquiry, analysis is a process of question-discovery" (p. 33). In this section I discuss the general types of questions I used as I gathered my data. In the section on data analysis I describe in detail the kinds of questions that emerged and different ways in which I focused the data collection and analysis. In this study, I

used ethnographic questions in two ways, to focus my observations and data collection and to gain information about the social scene from the participants.

Spradley identified three types of questions that "lead to different types of observations in the field" (p. 32). These are descriptive, structural, and contrast questions. Descriptive questions primarily guide the initial data analysis and discovery. In my study descriptive questions included "Who are the people in this place?" "What materials are the teachers using?" "How is this place organized spatially and timewise?" and "What do these people do?" During the initial phase of data collection, I asked many descriptive questions of the teachers, especially about objects and the physical places in their rooms. "What is this?" "What does this mean?" "What do you do here?" were questions I frequently asked. The purpose was to learn as much as possible about the physical setting, the people who were in that setting, the way the teacher structured the day, and the ways the rooms and places in them were used.

Once I completed the initial data analysis, I used structural questions to focus my data collection and analysis. Structural questions make use of what Spradley termed "the semantic relationship of a domain with a cover term" (p. 107). For example, physical places in the room would be a cover term. Within that domain I would ask questions such as "What kinds of places are in the room?" "What are the reasons for using those places?" and "What do people do in those places?" I asked the questions over and over again until I felt I had found as many answers as was possible within the social scene. Structural questions I asked of the teachers included such things as "What kinds of activities do the children do in this area?" "What are the reasons for using this activity?" By asking structural questions I was able to identify "both larger and smaller categories that [made] up the cultural scene" (p. 111).

Once the larger and smaller categories, or domains, were identified, I organized them into taxonomies. A taxonomy is a "set of categories organized on the basis of a single semantic relationship" (Spradley, 1980, p. 112). Once I developed taxonomies, the third type of question I asked were contrast questions. Contrast questions focus on the differences between two elements within a domain. For example, once I identified the kinds of activities that occurred in a place, I asked "How is this activity different from another activity that also occurs here?" I used contrast questions to make sure the identified elements were different or to identify the best category in which an element belonged.

I used the three kinds of questions throughout the data collection. I used them to focus my observations. I also used them to clarify questions I had about what I was observing and to gain information about the teachers and how they were perceiving the social scene. I would often ask ethnographic questions immediately following a lesson, after watching the teachers show a student how to do something, and when I wanted to know what a teacher or students were doing and why.

Grand tours

During the year, I also made grand tours of the rooms, especially at the elementary school. A grand tour is a detailed description of the physical aspects of the social scene. The grand tours helped me to identify things that were different in the room. New things often indicated to me a lesson or activity I had not observed. I would ask the teacher to tell me about the new things. Bulletin boards were something that was used differently in each classroom and that gave me information about the kinds of instructional activities the teachers did during the year. The way space was used in the classrooms also indicated to me the types of activities that had occurred.

Field activities

In addition to observing and interviewing, I spent over 250 hours with the CBEP personnel on program related activities during the year. Sixty-five of those hours were spent working with the teachers and Bill during the developmental phase of the CBE Program. In September, Bill became concerned because an Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) form had never been developed for the program. The proposal submitted to the Urbantown County School Board stated that such a form would be used for program documentation. The IEP was supposed to integrate the CBEP objectives with those of the county and reflect the Urbantown basic skills test required for grade-level promotion. The teachers were too busy to take on an extra task, so I offered to develop the IEP for the elementary school teachers. In September, the elementary school principal temporarily hired a retired language arts teacher as the school reading specialist. I learned that the teacher had co-chaired the committee to develop the county's Basic Objectives for Language Arts Skills List in 1980. With her help, I learned the history and purpose of the county's emphasis on competency testing. I developed an IEP that integrated the county's language arts requirements with the objectives of the CBE Program and the state and county testing programs.

In January, I attended the winter Parent Advisory Committee (PAC) meeting and the county in-service training program for all ESL/Bilingual teachers. I also worked with a Southeast Asian aide to construct an informal reading inventory that would give me more information about those students' literacy skills in their home language. In February, three of the teachers, Bill and I were members of the county ESL textbook selection committee. We spent one day and one afternoon reviewing and evaluating possible ESL textbooks for the state adopted textbook list. I also worked with one teacher and Bill on a presentation about the CBE Program. In

February and March I helped the junior high school teachers prepare for International Day, an all-day, school-wide fair designed to educate the student body about the CBE Program, its students, and their countries of origin. Also during February and March I worked with the elementary teachers to develop a portfolio for a state-wide Innovative School Program Award. My activities included preparing a tentative outline and writing several sections for the Award project.

From March through June, I accompanied teachers from both the junior high and elementary schools on ten home visits. In April, one of the junior high teachers and I attended services at the Buddhist temple in Urbantown. All of the teachers, Bill, and I attended a New Year's festival sponsored by the refugees for the Urbantown community. Finally, in May I also helped to write two sections of a proposal for Title VII Alternative Programs funding that was submitted to the U.S. Department of Education Office of Minority Languages Affairs. The proposal was approved, and the Urbantown School District received a three-year grant to implement the CBE Program in the district.

Ethnographic Validity

Shimahara (1984) has defined ethnographic validity as "the degree to which participant observation achieves what it purports to discover, i.e, the authentic representation of what is happening in a social scene" (p. 71). Edgerton and Langness (1974) referred to this as ethnographic accuracy (p. 59). To increase validity, one issue the ethnographic researcher must consider is reactivity: the effect of the researcher on the data gathered and the reaction of the participants to the researcher. Agar (1980) identified three sources that can reduce the validity of a study: the informant may be inconsistent, two informants might disagree, and there may be discrepancies between what the informants said and what the researcher observed (p. 115). Through prolonged on-site participant observation and the

maintenance of a nonjudgmental stance, the ethnographic researcher can reduce the degree of reactivity and increase the probability of identifying inconsistencies in the data and understanding why those inconsistencies exist. The primary goal is to increase the probability that what occurred in the researcher's presence "is most likely what would have occurred were they not present" (Peshkin, 1985, p. 214).

Edgerton and Langness (1974, p. 59) identified 16 issues the researcher needs to address to insure accuracy in ethnographic writing. In this chapter and Chapter II, I discuss data collection and analysis techniques, the theoretical framework I used to interpret the data, the theories and problems that guided the fieldwork, my role as a researcher, and steps I took to control for researcher bias. In Chapter VI, I discuss important variables in the Urbantown school district social context that affected the implementation of the CBE Program. I also examine historical events and political conditions that influenced the present day context. Four issues I have not addressed are how well did I speak the language, how good were my informants, what aspects of the culture did I have access to, and what aspects were not available.

I entered the field thinking that I was fairly fluent in the language of teaching and teachers. I had taught in the public schools in two states and had taught in several ESL/Bilingual education teacher training programs. I thought I would have little problem understanding state and district educational terms used by the CBEP teachers. I was wrong. Even though the teachers and I used many of the same words, we did not share the same meanings. The symbolic interaction theory I used to analyze the data enabled me to identify what had gone wrong. It was not that the teachers were inconsistent in what they were telling me. Rather, I did not fully understand what they were saying. My own prior definitions and assumptions were getting in the way. In the section on data analysis I discuss in detail the steps I took to reduce this threat to validity.

My informants included four of the five teachers responsible for implementing the CBE Program and Bill, the Program Coordinator. All of them were open and honest with me, especially during the last six months of the study. While each of them had their limitations, together they gave me a variety of perspectives that helped me to understand the complexity of the CBE Program implementation process. I believe that through these informants I was able to gather enough data to accurately describe and interpret the CBE Program implementation process as it occurred in the Urbantown school district.

The primary areas I had access to were the teachers' classrooms where the program was actually implemented and school areas the teachers had access to such as the teachers' lounge and the lunch room. I also had access to district level documents through Bill. Additionally, I was able to participate in many activities because I had been and still was a licensed teacher. Developing the IEP, training the teachers to use the Briggance Test of Basic Skills, substitute teaching in the CBEP classes, developing an outline for the Innovative School Program Award, and being on the textbook selection committee were a few of the activities in which a non-educator would not have been able to participate. Because of my prior teaching experience, I knew the general social structure of the schools. I was able to see and initiate opportunities for participation in activities that would have little impact on the CBE Program. Through such participation, I was able to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the social context in which the CBE Program was implemented.

There were several areas I did not have complete access to: the principals' perspectives, the superintendent's and school board members' perspectives, and events that occurred on the days I was not in the field. Entry into the worlds of the principals and superintendent was not possible for me. I was concerned with

documenting the teachers' perspectives. As a result, I had to spend my time with the teachers and in their classrooms. While I did provide written updates to the elementary school principal, most interactions with her were informal and in the office. The junior high principal I saw briefly five times during the year. I gave her two written reports. After the second, she told me that written reports were unnecessary, and that the teachers could up-date her concerning the study. Although I had little direct contact with the principals or the superintendent, their influence was felt in the CBEP classrooms.

One further way my access was limited was that I was only in the schools for about 80 days, just under half of the school year. There were incidents and events I never witnessed that the teachers told me about. In such cases, I found someone who had witnessed the event and interviewed them. For example, I was not able to go on the field trip with the elementary students. However, the teachers told me their versions of what had happened. I talked with the aides who had gone on the trip to get their version of events and then compared them all. Also, there were events I never witnessed and was never told about. I have no way of knowing how these events may have affected the CBE Program as it was implemented.

As the data collection and analysis progressed, I became aware of gaps in my understanding the contextual factors affecting the program implementation process. I identified several areas I needed to research: historical context within which the CBE Program developed; county demographics and characteristics of the district educational system; state and local educational contexts within which county level programs were developed and implemented; and the educational and life backgrounds of the Southeast Asian students. The use of unobtrusive and non-reactive data collection techniques were of primary importance in filling those gaps to achieve the ethnographic goals of holism and contextualization.

The primary non-reactive technique I used was archival research. I read evaluations of prior programs, previous county program proposals, and program correspondence. I also read issues of the Urbantown Times Newspaper back to 1965. The documents and newspaper articles helped me to reconstruct the historical aspects of the present Urbantown social context. Through my archival research, unobtrusive data collection, and participation in the different program-related activities discussed above, I was able to fill in the gaps in my understanding of the social context in which the CBE Program was implemented. Understanding the social context enabled me to understand why the four teachers had implemented such different versions of the CBE Program.

In this section I have discussed the field methods I used and the aspects of the objective world to which I attended as I conducted this study. I have discussed the data I gathered and the methods I used in terms of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. The rest of this chapter is divided into two sections. In the first, I discuss the issues related to doing ethnographic research and the ways in which I addressed those issues in this study. In the final section I provide a detailed description of the data analysis procedures I used.

Ethnographic Method and Related Concerns

My purpose in this study was to document the implementation process of Urbantown's CBE Program from the perspective of the four teachers who were responsible for its implementation. One method specifically developed to achieve such a purpose is ethnography. Ethnographers enter research sites in order "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise *his* vision of *his* world" (Malinowski, 1956, p. 49). Thus, the understanding that ethnographers seek is "the meaning particular social actions have for the actors whose actions they are" (Geertz, 1973, p. 27). Ethnography is not, as Agar (1980) noted, "simply data collection; it is

rich in implicit theories of culture, society, and the individual" (p. 23). These theories are reflected in the orientations of phenomenology, holism, nonjudgementalism, and contextualization.

Phenomenology requires that investigators be guided by the insider's viewpoint, the emic perspective. The concept of holism commands our attention to the larger picture and to the interrelated nature of the minute to the whole cultural system. A nonjudgmental orientation prevents the social scientist from making some of the more obvious value judgements in research. Biases are made explicit to mitigate their unintended effects on research. Contextualization demands that we place the data in its own environment so as to provide a more accurate representation. (Fetterman, 1980, p. 23)

Phenomenology and Context

General concerns

Ethnographers typically do not set out to test empirically test predetermined hypotheses. Rather, they enter the field with a general question which is derived from "the experiential world of the group" (Agar, 1980, p. 172) and is informed by theory, experience, and prior research. A guiding question "is an idea to check out" (p. 171) based on an analysis of data gathered during face-to-face interactions. As the study progresses and the researcher's understanding of the cultural scene deepens, guiding questions change and new questions emerge. These questions reflect the contextualized data as it is viewed against the backdrop of the multiple levels of the cultural scene. Often the questions grow out of important issues that emerge only after long-term fieldwork and data analysis. Sensitivity to the possibility of context-derived research issues, the willingness to live with the ambiguity of moving from a general idea to a focused study, and the willingness to maintain a nonjudgmental attitude throughout the collection of the data are essential to successful ethnographic work.

In this study, my concern for incorporating the anthropological orientations of ethnography was reflected in the initial questions that guided the proposed research. I maintained my concern throughout the data collection and analysis as the study changed to reflect the research context. My initial guiding question was: Can teachers who do not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with their students teach those students, and if so, how and why? My question reflected the phenomenological concerns of the participants, stated objectives of the Urbantown school board, and stated CBE Program goals.

Concerns related to this study

Throughout the study I focused the ethnographic data collection on documenting the implementation of the CBE Program in the teachers' individual classrooms. I began by studying daily classroom life. Through informal interviews and observations, I documented the problems teachers faced as they attempted to implement the CBE Program, and the ways they responded to those problems. I also gathered data related to the CBE Program at school and district meetings.

As the study and initial data analysis progressed, I realized that the four teachers were responding differently to common problems and in some cases were defining different things as problematic. I continued to document classroom organization and practices, but added two more guiding questions:

- What do teachers mean when they say they are educating refugees, and do their definitions and expectations change over the year?
- What are the teacher's educational aims, and how are they reflected in classroom practice?

By January, I realized that there was no single entity I could call the CBE Program. Each of the teachers had implemented the CBE Program in her own way. What I had documented were four different interpretations of the CBE Program. In

the next phase of my analysis I compared and contrasted the four programs. The question that guided my data collection was: Why did teachers who ostensibly were working from a common set of assumptions and who worked together to develop common program guidelines, end up implementing different programs?

I analyzed the programs as they took shape in the four classrooms and analyzed data from my interviews with the teachers. I realized that the teachers had different classroom practices and different reasons for the programs they developed. Finally, I focused the analysis on understanding why those differences existed. I worked to identify the structures of relevance that influenced the choices the teachers made as they attempted to make sense of the CBE Program and the task of teaching refugees and attempted to implement the instructional programs they developed based on their understandings. Three final questions guided the data collection:

- What biographical, contextual, and organizational factors influence the teachers' construction of the programs they implemented?
- Of the many potential problems that the four teachers face everyday, which do individual teachers recognize and act upon, which to they recognize and fail to act upon, and which do they fail to recognize at all?
- If differences exist in problem recognition or how the teachers work to solve problems, what accounted for those differences in perception and/or action?

The researcher's perspective

Although ethnography is designed to describe and understand a cultural scene from the emic perspective of participants, ethnographic research usually is conducted by an outsider. No matter how sensitive the outsider is to his/her own biases and influence on the cultural scene, the researcher shapes the data collection, analysis, and

findings. In this section, I discuss the way my perspective influenced how I understood the problem and began the study.

Initially, the guiding question reflected not only the participants' concerns but my own emic perspective: my beliefs about the worth of the study, the importance of the topic, and the findings I hoped to generate as a result of doing the study. For example, the initial question reflected my concerns as a member of the research community. My early involvement with the Urbantown ESL/Bilingual teachers had made me aware of the lack of research in ESL program implementation and the need for the research I was proposing. My understanding of the issues surrounding the debate between bilingual and English-only advocates made me sensitive to the unexamined, policy-level assumptions concerning the education of non-English speaking students. One such assumption was that teachers of language minority students were prepared to educate the students assigned to their classes. A nationwide survey funded by the U.S. Education Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) indicated that "approximately 500,000 teachers, or nearly one quarter of all public school teachers in the United States, had limited English proficient language minority students in their classes" (National Association of Bilingual Education, 1984, p. 1). However, four out of five teachers surveyed reported having had no academic preparation to teach these students. No information was available concerning the preparation of teachers to deal with the current changes in the refugee population, specifically, teaching students from rural or peasant backgrounds who were illiterate or semi-literate in their own languages and who had little or no formal schooling in other academic subjects.

When I conducted my initial review, I found that no research had been conducted to examine whether the expectation that teachers would be able to educate the new refugees was realistic. Research that was available was done at the generic program

level. In these studies, aggregated pre/post-test scores from several sites were the primary criteria that researchers used to determine the success of a program (Mehan, 1981). Much of this research had been conducted with Spanish/English bilingual education programs. Although descriptions of programs were in the literature, no research was available about English as a second language (ESL) program implementation for the new refugees entering United States schools.³ A few researchers had conducted descriptive studies of effective bilingual and ESL teachers (Tikunoff, 1983). Content-based English language development programs were being discussed in the literature (Chamot, 1985); however, there had been no research documenting the implementation of such programs. Additionally, I could find no studies that documented the process of either bilingual education or ESL program development and implementation. By focusing on four teachers as they implemented an innovative ESL program in their classrooms, I hoped to document and identify variables affecting that process.

Nonjudgmental Orientation

Wolcott (1984) has described educational ethnography as

a descriptive and interpretive activity whose purposes are to understand rather than to judge and [to] examine facets of human behavior as part of larger cultural systems . . . [with the focus] on classrooms and other educational settings as cultural scenes and on how the individuals directly or indirectly involved in those scenes make sense of and give meaning to what is going on. (p. 178-179)

When viewed in this way, a primary concern in the doing of ethnography is the intrusion of the researcher's biases in the collection, analysis, and reporting of the data, and in the documentation of whatever effects the researcher's presence has on

³ Chamot's (1985) comprehensive A Summary of Current Literature on English as a Second Language summarized 25 references in the section on ESL Organizational Patterns. Most citations were theoretical or descriptive studies. No program implementation studies were included in the review.

the social scene he/she is studying (Peshkin, 1988). A related concern is the need for the ethnographer to maintain a nonjudgmental stance in the collection and analysis of the data (Fetterman, 1984, p. 23; Wolcott, 1984, p. 181). The researcher's goal is to allow the social scene to unfold naturally, to document the daily lives of the participants, and to understand the meaning of those lives through their eyes. "The test of ethnography is whether it enables one to anticipate and interpret what goes on in a society or social group as appropriately as one of its members" (Wolcott, 1973, p. xi).

In the following section I discuss briefly some of my biases as they emerged throughout the study, the actions I took to minimize the effects of those biases on the social scene, and the actual data collection process in relation to those biases and actions. I discuss ways in which I was aware that my presence might have influenced the natural course of events and the actions I took to minimize those effects. I also describe things I did to maintain a nonjudgmental attitude throughout the study. Finally, I discuss actions I took in to learn as much about the Urbantown educational context and what it was like to be a CBEP teacher in that context.

Researcher bias

My initial perceptions of the CBE Program were positive. The CBEP was an official response to an unanticipated event, the entry of 300 Southeast Asian refugees into the Urbantown schools. What made the program worth studying, in my opinion, was the fact that it was the product of collaboration between six teachers, two principals, and the district supervisor of minority language programs. Because the program was school-, teacher-, and student- based, I hoped that it would generate a model for program development that could be disseminated nationally. Bill hoped to use the model to write a grant and obtain federal funds to implement CBEP at other district schools. Additionally, I hoped that the ethnographic data would enable

me to identify those instructional practices that enabled Southeast Asian students to meet the county requirements for promotion and placement into the regular academic program.

I set out to document what occurred when, in response to a real need, an innovative program is developed and implemented by teachers in a school district. My primary research role was one of limited participant observer. Participation included involvement in approximately 15 types of activities. The types of activities were chosen to allow me access to information while minimizing whatever impact I might have on the program's natural evolution. For example, I sat in on pupil placement conferences at the elementary school, but I did not offer opinions or give them even when asked. I stated truthfully that I did not know enough about Southeast Asian refugees or individual pupils to accurately assess their educational needs. When I was asked how to assign students at the beginning of the year, I referred to the initial research proposal and did not express an opinion about the principal's final decision to place all students in the CBE Program.

I tried not to share information that might influence decisions being made by the personnel in the study. When necessary, I reminded program personnel that I was there to document the program as it was implemented by the teachers and did not want to influence the decisions they made. Soon after I began field work, I realized that the participants perceived me as being the "expert from the University." They also believed that I was there to evaluate them, not just to observe and understand. They often asked my opinion, and I commonly answered, "I do not know enough to have an opinion. You are the experts and I am here to learn from you." After about a month of these exchanges, the teachers began to accept my role as neutral observer. To reinforce this role, I followed one rule, never to share information that people had

shared with me, and never shared observations I made in the classrooms with anyone other than the teacher being observed.

The researcher's nonjudgmental concerns

I entered the field knowing relatively little about the diverse cultures or the life experiences and educational backgrounds of Urbantown's Southeast Asian students. I did not know what type of educational program would best meet their needs, although based on my professional experience and education I believed that the new CBE Program would prove to be a good educational approach. Because I was aware of my lack of knowledge about the Southeast Asian students, I knew I should not make judgements about the teachers I observed. I did not know if all, some, or none of the teachers would be successful. The Peabody and Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) pre-tests I individually administered to the 150 students in the program helped me to maintain a nonjudgmental orientation throughout the data collection process. When I realized that I was forming a judgment about a teacher, I reminded myself that until I had analyzed the pre/post test scores, I could not with certainty draw any conclusions about the teachers or their practices.

I tried to observe in each teacher's classrooms equal amounts of time, on different days of the week, and at different times of the day. The purpose of varying my time and days in the classrooms was to ensure that I had observations representative of the teachers practices and not idiosyncratic to a specific time or day.⁴ I concentrated on documenting the instructional processes being used in the classrooms and consciously tried not to make any judgements about the teachers' instructional

⁴ Edgerton and Langness (1974) have argued that the systematic observation and careful documentation of phenomena on random days and for specified periods of time helps to ensure that the data used to interpret the empirical world are representative of that world. Such practices lead to replicability of the study and the development of interpretative theories that are grounded in the empirical world (p. 39).

programs. This is not to say that I did not have opinions about the teachers or their work; only that I knew I could not support my opinions without long-term, repeated observations of the instructional process and end-of-the-year documentation such as post-test scores, grades, promotion rates and placement in the regular academic program. When I became aware that I was beginning to form an opinion about a teacher, I looked for contrary evidence.⁵

Understanding the teachers' perspective

Participating in activities similar to those the teachers were required to do was one way I tried to learn what it was like to be a teacher in the Urbantown schools as well as what it was like to teach Southeast Asian refugees. I followed the teachers' schedules as closely as possible. That meant arriving at the junior high by 7:30 a.m. or at the elementary school by 8:00 a.m. to participate with the teachers in their pre-school activities. I stayed after school for meetings; helped the teachers grade papers, plan, and make activities; ran dittos; went on home visitations; and went with the teachers to run school related errands.

I did several things to understand what it was like to teach the Southeast Asian students. I studied the textbooks and collected copies of handouts the teachers used in their lessons. By knowing what the teachers would be teaching, I was better able

⁵ Contrary evidence, or negative examples, is an essential element ethnographic research. Becker and Geer (1960) have argued that to insure the validity of the data, the researcher must "take account of evidence that does not fit his previous formulation, by searching for negative cases (items of evidence which run counter to the relationships hypothesized in the model)" (p. 278). Blumer (1969) has maintained that a researcher's assertions or hypotheses about the empirical world must be tested "by a scrupulous search for negative empirical cases" (p. 29-30). Finally, Edgerton and Langness (1974) have argued that the hypotheses the ethnographer formulates about the empirical world must be constructed in such a way the researcher "can not only gather evidence which will tend to confirm them, but can also gather evidence which could disprove them" (p. 98). It is in the disproving and confirming that understandings emerge and the ethnographer moves toward his/her goal "accuracy--providing a true account of a people's culture" (Edgerton & Langness, p. 59).

to focus better on the process of teaching without simultaneously having to understand the content and purpose of the lessons. Since I was a licensed teacher in the state, I was able to substitute teach several afternoons when CBEP teachers were away from the classroom. I also tutored students in the classrooms and provided the teachers with some reciprocal help. Finally, I wanted to understand the Southeast Asian students' world view and the problems they were having trying to learn a second language and at the same time learn in that second language. I read books about the war in Southeast Asia, its aftermath, and the refugee experience. I became friends with and tutored several students. In January, I began spending nights with the teachers when I planned to be on-site two or more consecutive days. Through informal conversations in the teachers' homes, I learned that two of the teachers also were reading about the Southeast Asian experience and had made friends with several of the adults. The teachers and I began sharing insights and books. One of the teachers had kept a journal about some of her students that she shared with me. Later she introduced me to adults in the refugee community. With her help, I obtained slides of paintings that refugees had done in the refugee camps in Thailand. I also obtained copies of three refugee autobiographies written in English. The autobiographies documented the horrors of the war in Southeast Asia and its aftermath during the 1970s.

Reactivity and Related Concerns

Edgerton and Langness (1974) have noted that *reactivity* is one of the major problems of ethnography. "Reactivity refers to the effect that an observer, or any kind of investigator, has upon the phenomenon he is attempting to study" (p. 32). Many techniques and methods have been developed to account for or to reduce this reaction between the investigator and participants. However, "no technique has proven so effective . . . as prolonged participant observation The longer one lives

with people and the better one knows them, the less likely it is that the presence of the investigator will produce unknown effects upon the behavior the investigator is attempting to understand" (p. 32). In this section I discuss the times in which I was aware that my presence was having an effect on the teachers and things I did to decrease those effects.

I had agreed with the teachers that I would not begin formal observations until the CBE Program materials had arrived and were being used by the teachers. The materials did not arrive until the first week in November. Since the teachers never had seen the materials, they now had to review them, decide what was appropriate for each grade level, and distribute the materials to appropriate classes. Initially, all the elementary school materials were placed in the upper elementary teacher's classroom. The junior high materials were placed in the 7-9 teacher's room. The teachers were given a one-day training session by Martin Connors, the consultant who had helped the teachers develop the CBE Program Curriculum Guide in July. Because the teachers could work on organizing the materials only after school, it took until December for them to begin using the materials.

I conducted my first formal observation in upper elementary teacher's classroom during the first week of December. I spent an entire day in her class, sitting quietly, writing everything down. Taking detailed field notes in the teachers' classrooms was different from my previous behavior which was characterized by informal conversations, sitting in the classroom but not taking notes, and periodic interactions with students during their individual work. Two teachers were very concerned about what they perceived as a change from my previous neutral observer status, and that status was threatened. The teachers began to wonder whether or not I was really an evaluator.

In January, one teacher shared with me the concern voiced by another teacher.

I think you should know that Mindy came into my classroom this morning a little upset. She wanted to know why you are writing everything down. I think it would be a good idea for you to talk to her and explain again what you are doing. I think she is worried you are going to evaluate her.

That afternoon I scheduled a meeting with Mindy, the upper elementary teacher. I shared my field notes with her and again explained why I wanted to know what the teachers were doing. I told her that only a few researchers had documented what teachers do when they teach refugee children. I made plans to meet with Mindy the next week. At that next meeting I spent two hours interviewing her about her classroom and the CBE Program. She took me on a tour of her classroom and answered all my questions in order to be sure that I understood what she was doing. Thus, by talking with the teachers and reviewing with them my purpose for the study, I was able to reestablish my role as neutral observer.

I also began having teachers review my field notes periodically. "Oh my gosh, did I say that?" "You forgot a word here," and "I can't believe you are getting all this down," were a few of the comments the teachers made. This sharing of field notes helped me to maintain my neutral observer status. My sharing reduced the suspicion that I was really an evaluator. This process also helped me to be as accurate as possible with the detailed descriptions of classroom events.

From January through June, when I was on-site two or more days in a row, I spent the nights with the teachers and their families. At that point I developed a second rule that affected data collection. While I kept a journal of impressions and information from informal discussions, I did not take field notes when I was in the teachers' homes. The only exception was when I had made prior arrangements to interview them. The experience of staying with the teachers gave me greater insight into the teachers as people and enabled me to understand better the ways in which the

teachers' individual personalities and beliefs were reflected in their classroom practices. The information I gathered while participating in the lives of the teachers outside of schools I have used with permission of the teachers.

Holism and Contextualization

Holism is an essential quality of ethnographic research and is reflected in the ethnographer's "attention to context and to complex interrelationships in human lives" (Wolcott, 1973, p. xi). As Fetterman (1984) noted, "holism commands our attention . . . to the interrelated nature of the minute to the whole cultural system" (p. 23). To achieve holism in ethnography, the researcher faces the task of "discovering how things are and how they got that way" (Wolcott, 1984, p. 180). To understand how things got that way, the researcher must confront the task of contextualizing the data. In this study, the multiple interrelated contexts influencing the classroom-level implementation of the CBE Program included classroom, school, district, state, and national levels. I discuss these contexts in Chapter V as they relate to the implementation of the CBE Program.

Analysis

I considered two primary factors when I originally planned the study: the concerns of the district about program documentation and my own concerns about the documentation of the implementation process. To meet the district's concerns, I chose a pre/post-test, quasi-experimental research design with randomly assigned experimental and control groups. The control group was to be comprised of students who would be assigned to the existing English as a second language program. To document the implementation process, I decided to do an ethnographic study of teachers and their classroom activities. Bill wanted to use differences in the pre/post-test scores, student scores on the county tests, and placement in the regular academic program as indicators of the CBE Program's effectiveness. I believed that

documenting the program's implementation at the classroom level for a year would enable me to identify similarities and differences among the CBEP program teachers and identify teacher and other context-related factors affecting program success.

In September, the principals decided to place all students needing intensive English language instruction in the CBE Program. As a result, the quasi-experimental portion of the study became impossible. Although I did administer the pre- and posttests, the test scores were used for general program documentation purposes. No conclusive statements could be made about the effectiveness of the program, since there was no control group with which to compare the program. From September on, I concentrated on the ethnographic portion of the study. The data analysis methods and techniques I used are discussed below.

Initial Analysis Techniques

Initial analysis of the ethnographic data was done using Spradley's (1980) Developmental Research Sequence (DRS). I began by sorting the data into domains and building domains into taxonomies. Ethnographic analysis, as Spradley has explained, is "the systematic examination of something to determine its parts, the relationship among parts, and their relationship to the whole. Analysis is the search for *patterns*" (1980, p. 85). In the DRS method, domain analysis serves two purposes: "to uncover categories of cultural meaning [the parts] that are embedded in the ethnographic data" (p. 91), and "to identify relationships among the items in the domains, and to discover structural questions that will guide further data collection" (p. 33).

This phase of the analysis also included organizing the data into ethnographic records--typed notes that followed a consistent format--and developing domain analysis worksheets that would facilitate analysis of the data. The worksheet I

developed went through four revisions. Domain categories were identified using the nine semantic categories of domain relationship developed by Spradley (pp. 93-98). Once domains were identified and saturated with examples from the data, relationships within and between the domains were identified. This step is called a "taxonomic analysis." The analysis of these domains, which I discuss below, provided information to develop guiding questions throughout the study.

I identified more than one hundred domains during the initial analysis. For each domain, I had a set of worksheets for each of the four teachers. I sorted the domains into taxonomies that fell into two broad categories: CBEP related actions and events that were occurring in the classrooms, and actions and events--such as school and district administrative decisions--that occurred outside the classroom but which seemed to have an impact on classroom events. I continued with the DRS process and identified taxonomies related to the CBE Program implementation process. Some of the more useful taxonomies included: problems teachers face, problems teachers identify, ways of organizing the students for instruction, kinds of decisions teachers make, reasons for making decisions, kinds of educational aims teachers identify, ways educational aims are reflected in classroom practice.

The Shift to a Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

As I analyzed the data I collected in November and December, I began uncovering differences among the teachers, especially in the taxonomies listed above. I was surprised at how many differences I was identifying. I wondered why I was so concerned and went back to some of my initial notes and impressions for answers. I realized that initially I had assumed that all the teachers would implement the new Content-Based English Program (CBEP) in a similar way. This assumption was based on my interviews and work with the teachers during the development of the CBEP, participation in the pre-school planning workshops, and time I spent the week before

school helping them set up their classrooms. All teachers used similar language to talk about the CBEP and appeared to share common meanings for those terms. These meanings initially appeared to inform their intended classroom practices. Additionally, when I first interviewed the teachers about their classroom materials, activities, and organization, all referred to the CBEP guide and the formally-stated goals of the program. Three of the four teachers took me on a tour of their rooms and compared their organization with the CBEP classroom floor plan outlined in the guide. The two elementary teachers tried to follow the plan. The two junior high teachers were unable to do so because of limited space and lack of materials.

In addition to my belief that the teachers shared a commonly held set of assumptions about how the CBE Program was to be implemented, two other factors influenced my assumption that all teachers would implement the CBEP in a similar way. One was the fact that the teachers and I had worked together and used the CBEP terminology in the same context--during the development of the program. The idea that the terminology we used did not reflect shared meanings between the teachers and myself or the teachers themselves had not occurred to me.

As I reexamined my field notes and journal entries, I became aware of my lack of understanding about the CBE Program as it actually was understood by each teacher. The reexamination process forced me to confront and uncover my own assumptions about how the program would be implemented. I learned that the meanings I had constructed for the terms in the CBEP Curriculum Guide and the meanings the teachers constructed for the same terms were different. Another reason for the assumptions I had made was the fact that I had had four years of experience running individualized reading and bilingual education programs similar to the proposed CBE Program. I had my own tacit expectations about how the teachers would implement the CBE Program. As a result, I had assumed that the teachers shared my understandings of what it meant

to individualize a program and to educate refugees. Further analysis of the data indicated that although some terms were useful in describing the physical set-up of the classrooms or specific activities in which the students engaged, in general the terms did little to inform me about the teachers' daily classroom practices or their perceptions of what they were doing and why.

From January on, I made a conscious effort to understand the teachers' 'emic' perspectives, i.e., their own perspectives. I focused on learning the individual teachers' own meanings for the words we used and began to document formally the programs evolving in each of the classrooms. I took the stance of "ignorant stranger" described by Agar (1980), and admitted that I knew relatively little about the teachers or what they were doing. I tried to observe and participate in as many activities as possible. I asked questions about any aspect of the physical world to which the teachers attended in the classroom or school--such as materials, students, cumulative records, lessons, teacher aides, and other teachers. I asked about things the teachers did. I examined lesson plans, and I asked more questions. I went through this observation and questioning process with each teacher. My goal became one of being able to enter each teacher's world or at least to be able to ask the questions that would grant me that entry.

During this process I learned that while the teachers used some common vocabulary to describe the CBE Program, each teacher had also used her individual set of words and phrases to describe what she was doing in her classroom. In addition, each teacher had her own perceptions of herself as a teacher and of what it meant to be a teacher in general. Further, each teacher had perceptions about students in general, about the Southeast Asian students, and about what it meant to teach them. These perceptions influenced the problems the teachers identified, the decisions they made, the actions they took and, ultimately, the instructional programs they developed in their classrooms.

The goal of ethnography, as Spradley has stated, "is to discover the cultural patterns people are using to organize their behavior, to make and use objects, to arrange space, and to make sense out of their experience (1980, p. 130)." As I analyzed the data gathered from August through December, I found few cultural patterns common to all teachers. I was confronted, rather, with four distinct programs all falling under the CBE Program umbrella. There was no common set of rules or cultural practices that I could say guided the process of program implementation in the four classrooms. Rather, data analysis indicated that each teacher had constructed her own interpretation of the cultural scene, and that interpretation was what guided her behavior.

My goal became one of understanding why the teachers had constructed such different programs and to identify the factors that had influenced those constructions. By staying with the teachers while I was in the field, I became aware of the importance of the fact that each teacher was part of multiple cultural groups derived from a lifetime of experience. These groups included many more people than school and district colleagues. For all the teachers, these prior groups were an important source of beliefs, experiences, and values that shaped their classroom practices.⁶

As I compared and contrasted the teachers' programs, I discovered that the teachers were alike or different in two ways: in the criteria they used to guide their

⁶ The concept of "multiple cultural groups" that provide an individual with different perspectives or frameworks from which to view the world has been discussed in the symbolic interactionist literature. Lacey (1977) has stated that as the group perspective develops over time, shared common strategies for acting in the world also develop. These perspectives and strategies comprise what Lacey has termed the group's "sub-culture." When an individual becomes a member of a new group, the cultural perspectives of the previous groups or sub-cultures continue to influence the way in which the individual perceives, interprets, and acts in the world. In relation to educational research, Woods (1983) identified numerous sub-cultures in which students and teachers participate.

classroom practices and in the ways they used that criteria to identify problems, make decisions, and take action in the process of implementing the CBE Program. At this point I began to realize the limitation of Spradley's data analysis method. What I needed was an analytical methodology and theoretical framework that would enable me to specifically focus on the individual teachers and their role in the implementation process.

Symbolic Interactionist Perspective: Rationale and Theory

As the importance of the individual teachers in constructing their own reality--i.e., their own interpretation of the CBE Program and how it should be enacted in classroom practice--became apparent, I searched for a theoretical framework and related analysis method that would help me analyze and interpret the data from the individual perspectives. Initially, the writings of John Dewey and Alfred Schutz provided a theoretical framework for the domains I uncovered. Both Schutz and Dewey had concepts similar to the "criteria guiding classroom practice" taxonomy I had identified. Dewey wrote that experience is organized "pre-reflectively" (1916, p. 5). How we initially perceive and interpret a situation is grounded in prior experience and knowledge. This experience and knowledge is often taken for granted as being true or appropriate for the task at hand and may operate at an unconscious level. When the "pre-reflective" does not help sufficiently in understanding some aspect of the situation, that aspect becomes "problematic" or the object of attention. The person must then "reflect" upon the object and develop a new line of action. The object can be an emotion, a non-verbal response by another person, the failure of a procedure, a new or relocated physical object, anything that causes an individual to say, "Something isn't right. How do I fix it, deal with it, and get back to the task at hand?"

Schutz (1967) believed that people make sense out of their environment "through the use of tacit systems of relevances by which man within his natural attitude in daily life is guided" (p. 27). Relevance is "the process by which objects came to man's attention, the process which determines what is and what is not pertinent to the situation at hand" (Webb, 1978, p. 2). Or, as Dewey noted, it is a process of discrimination through which individuals come to recognize "this object out of the multitude of possible objects, of just this bundle of vibrations out of all other bundles" (Dewey, 1965, p. 242, Dewey's emphasis). Unless the process of discrimination is understood, including the antecedent "structures of relevance" that shaped the present act of discrimination, one cannot fully understand and interpret human experiences.

Each act of discrimination is set within a context. For Dewey, this context was "non-cognitive and holds within it suspended a vast complex of other qualities and things" (Dewey, 1916, p. 4). These qualities and things may be present and observable in the immediate context. However, what is *not* present--for example, prior experiences, beliefs, values, on-going relationships with persons not present--also comprise the context. The task of the social scientist is to learn the objects of experience to which a person attends in a given situation and then to uncover the elements of "context"--the structures of relevance--by which the individual gives meaning to the object.⁷

⁷ Even the best ethnographic researcher never will uncover all knowledge and past experiences that individuals use to give meaning to their world. As den Hollander (1967) has noted, "no investigator ever finds out 'everything.' What he ultimately learns is a very small fraction of the immense knowable whole. [However, a good study] contains more information than any one member of that community possesses" (p. 18).

The Application of Symbolic Interactionism to Program Implementation Research

Research conducted from a symbolic interaction perspective includes several premises. Individuals do not just respond to the objects and people in the objective social world. They also interpret that world in order to act in it. The interpretation process is the result of interaction with things in the objective world, with others and the self. Through this interaction, individuals construct an interpretive framework within which they give meaning to and act in their social world. What individuals know as reality is reflected in their actions and conversations. This reality has been called by Berger and Luckman (1966) the "commonsense reality" of everyday life. Commonsense reality has objective and subjective aspects. In social organizations, the objective is the way in which social relationships are structured and distributed within a group, and includes the socially constructed and shared interpretations and actions of group members. The subjective is the way in which individuals perceive, interpret, and experience the objective social world. The discovery and understanding of the relationship between the objective and the subjective is the goal of symbolic interaction research.

A primary task in the discovery of the objective and subjective is the identification of what is problematic. The problematic are the things individuals consider as they interpret the objective social world and plan to act in that world and that they perceive as possibly preventing them from action. Action is based on goals or aims. People act for reasons that give meaning to their action. In education, for example, individual teachers' instructional aims and the actions they take to achieve those aims reflect the problematic: the things teachers attend to and consider in their instructional planning and activities. In understanding the

program implementation process from a symbolic interaction perspective, researchers must identify both the objective program that is to be implemented and the way in which that program is interpreted and implemented in individual classrooms. The interaction between the formal program and the programs of the individual teachers provides insight into the implementation process.

The symbolic interactionist perspective in this study

Using the above premises, I generated a series of questions that I used to guide the final phase of the data collection and analysis. With reference to the subjective, I asked the following ethnographic questions:

- How do individual teachers interpret and construct their world?
- What is problematic for them?
- How does this understanding of the problematic influence the kinds of interpretations teachers make about the classroom world and the actions they take in that world?
- Since individuals construct their social world through social interaction with others and with themselves, who are the significant others with whom the teachers interact?
- How does their interaction with these others influence the meanings they construct and the actions they take?
- How are the socially constructed meanings modified and constructed through self dialogue?
- Finally, how are the individuals' self modification and construction of meaning reflected in interviews and action taken in their classrooms?

In addition to asking questions that would uncover the subjective, I also asked questions that were directed toward understanding the objective, the socially

structured and organized world of the school district and schools within which the individual teachers implemented the CBE Program. These included:

- How do the school district administrators interpret the problem of educating the Southeast Asian students?
- What aspects of the objective world does the administration find problematic?
- How is these reflected in policy statements and procedures?
- How are these statements and procedures reflected at the school and classroom levels?
- How do these statements and procedures influence the ways administrators interpret teachers actions and their classroom procedures?
- Since interpretations of the objective world are socially constructed, what and who influence the administrations interpretations of the program and the way in which it is to be implemented?
- How do these interpretations influence the goals the administration has identified?

For the purpose of this study I grouped the administrators together as representative of the social context of the school district. I chose to interpret the administrators' reactions and actions as indicators of that social context rather than as individual subjective structures. I did so because of the top-down hierarchical organization of the school district and the separation of administration and management from the teaching force. While I realize that some of the principals' actions were more subjective than representative of the district context, for the most part, the principals' decisions reflected what was valued by the administration. I also considered the following to reflect the administrative perspective: school and district level educational aims as stated in curriculum

guides, school handbooks and other documents; standard procedures as indicated by written policy directives; and policies implemented by the principals and by Bill, the district coordinator.

My use of ethnographic methods facilitated my goal of understanding the interaction of the subjective and the objective in the program implementation process. Through long term participation in many aspects of the teachers' lives, I glimpsed the world from the teachers' perspectives. These perspectives helped me understand better and to identify those aspects of the objective world that were problematic for the teachers. Through long term observation I compared what individual teachers said they were doing with what I actually observed and recorded. Using this comparison, I gradually uncovered the structures of relevance, the framework of knowledge that guided and gave meaning to teachers actions in the objective classroom world. These structures were both conscious and unconscious. By identifying and understanding these structures, I came to understand the fit between the subjective and objective social worlds of the CBE Program.

Data analysis using a symbolic interaction perspective: This study

My final tasks in the data analysis process were identifying the objects to which the teachers attended and uncovering the structures of relevance the teachers used to give meaning to those objects. Additionally, I wanted to understand how the objects and structures of relevance influenced the process of program implementation in the four classrooms. The two final questions that guided data collection from March to June and through the final phase of the analysis process were

- Of the many potential problems that the four teachers face everyday, which do individual teachers recognize and act upon, which do they recognize and fail to act upon, and which do they fail to recognize at all?

- If differences exist in problem recognition or how the teachers work to solve problems, what accounts for those differences in perception and/or action?

The analytic method I used was based on Schutz (1967) and Gubrium (1988). Gubrium defined method in symbolic interaction research as an "analytical orientation [the researcher uses] to convey the field's everyday realities and its members' common philosophical engagements" (p. 10). One goal of the researcher is to uncover the systematic, tacit structures of understanding, "the systems of interpretation guiding the task" (p. 13). Gubrium argued that the interpretation of events can be discerned only when these systems are understood, not through the analysis of "actual words spoken . . . the physical evidence or the unfolding events" (p. 13).

Although the public level of interpretation often is taken to be universal, commonly shared by all members of a group, Gubrium argued that in fact, individuals also bring different structures to a social scene. In his studies, individuals used "different structures to deal with questions challenging them, they *articulated* the structures in different ways" (p. 13-14). Articulated structures are expressed in words and behavior, but, they are not those words and behaviors. Thus, the task of symbolic interaction research is the uncovering of the articulated structures.

To uncover the structures of the four teachers, I identified things and events that occurred in the district and in the school contexts. I paid specific attention to the classroom settings. I carefully documented what the teachers said and what they did as they went about their daily classroom activities. I identified what the teachers attended to, what was important for them as they interacted with the objective social world. By comparing things and events in the larger social

context with things the teachers were attending to, I identified ways in which the teachers interpreted the social scene and the ways in which those interpretations guided their classroom activities. Through this process of analysis, I eventually came to understand the implementation process and was able to identify some of the factors affecting it.

CHAPTER IV A DESCRIPTION OF THE DISTRICT, THE SCHOOLS, AND THE PARTICIPANTS

Urbantown School District

Geographically, Urbantown County is one of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States. Most residents live in the suburbs around Urbantown. Outlying county areas are rural. About fifteen percent of the households identified in the 1980 census were below the poverty level and 25% of them were non-white.¹ An estimated 40,000 households reported that a language other than English was spoken in the home.

When I conducted my study, approximately 100,000 students were enrolled in the Urbantown school system. Forty percent of the students were of minority groups. Two and a half percent were from homes where a language other than English was spoken. Of these, 373 students were classified as non- or limited-speakers of English (LEP) and were enrolled in the county's bilingual education or English as a second language programs. The other 2,200 language minority language students were not classified as LEP and did not qualify for special services in the bilingual or ESL programs. The bilingual and ESL programs included 15 teachers in almost as many schools.

From 1976 to 1981, students enrolled in Urbantown's bilingual education and ESL programs were primarily Hispanic, Vietnamese, Arabic, and Phillipino. Most of the students had had some schooling in their home countries. After 1981, the

¹ Urbantown and school demographics are summarized from the census, official county reports, various program proposals written by the school board beginning in 1976, and interviews with Bill and the Director of the Urbantown Refugee Resettlement Agency.

school district began to receive refugees and immigrants from Cambodia, Laos, Haiti, and Taiwan, and growing numbers of Vietnamese refugees. The Southeast Asian students were the fastest growing group and comprised more than 60% of the non-English speaking student population. Although some of the Southeast Asian students had attended school in their native countries, many of the incoming refugees had had less than two years of formal education. A letter, submitted by the initiators of the CBE Program to the Urbantown Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, described the new LEP student population.

These refugees are of a lower socio-economic level, (mainly second and third wave immigrants)² than those in the first wave of foreign students. These students have little or no formal education prior to taking refuge in the United States. Therefore, they have no English background at all. Also, there is no English spoken in the home environment. It should be noted that it would be virtually impossible to expect these students to gain command of English in one or even two years and function at the grade level in which they are placed according to their chronological age. (p. 1)

In addition to their low academic levels, 95% of the new refugees enrolling in the Urbantown schools were poor and qualified for free lunch and the remaining 5% qualified for reduced lunch. These statistics paralleled changing immigrant and refugee demographics throughout the United States (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1987).

² The wave theory was first developed by Stein (1981). He proposed that "people leaving their countries at different points in time have distinct characteristics" (NCAS, 1988). The first group usually includes top-level government officials, the wealthy, the military, and the educated. The second group includes the white-collar workers, lower-level officials, and other professionals. The third wave "Brings the rural poor, farmers, and the least-educated immigrants with the lowest levels of literacy in their own language, or in English" (NACS, 1988, p. 7). Many of the third wave immigrants are illiterate in their own languages. A study of Indochinese refugees by Rumbaut and Weeks (1986) showed the 80% of the second and third wave refugees were living in poverty as compared to 34% of the first wave refugees.

Schools in this Study

Urbantown Elementary

Urbantown Elementary School was built during the 1950s. It was located five miles from downtown Urbantown in a neighborhood that was once middle-class, but recently had become working class. The homes were primarily small wood-frame and cinder block single-family houses built during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The families in the neighborhood were mostly blue-collar and fairly stable. The school had an active P.T.A. that sponsored several fund raising events during the year. About three blocks east of the school was a main road lined with small businesses, fast food restaurants, and some light industry. Because of the increased commercial activity, families had begun moving out of the area and the school's student enrollment had declined. The school board considered closing the school in the early 1980s. The principal agreed to have the CBE Program at the school in part to increase the enrollment and save the school. Additionally, the LEP students brought increased funding to the school.

Urbantown Elementary was located on a three-acre grassy campus. The school served approximately 250 low SES students. The student body included students from the surrounding neighborhood and minority students bussed to the school from the inner city. About one third of the student body was language minority students from 15 countries. According to CBEP teachers at the school, "Most of these students [were] Asian refugees coming from the lower socioeconomic level with very little or no formal education of any kind before taking refuge in the United States. In addition to a language barrier and cultural differences, these students have many needs not shared by the students in the regular educational program." The Spanish-speaking students represented the second largest group.

The school campus consisted of four buildings connected by covered walkways. There were two classroom buildings housing ten classrooms each. The classes included three CBE Program classes, two kindergartens, three first grades and two classes each of second through fifth grade. Additionally, there was one class for special education, music, Chapter I, and the regular ESL program for students who needed one or two hours of English instruction per day. One of the two smaller buildings housed the library and the administration and guidance offices. The other housed the cafetorium. The students received freshly cooked meals each day. Some students qualified for both breakfast and lunch. At one end of the cafeteria was a stage. At the north end of the campus, just past the upper elementary classes, was a portable classroom with a computer lab. There was an outside basketball court and a playground area for the children to use during recess. Once a week the students had gym, art, and music.

Teachers arrived at Urbantown Elementary between 8:00 and 8:30 a.m. Some would meet in the teachers lounge to talk or exchange ideas for instructional activities. Teachers also used this time to run off materials on the copy machine located in the office. Students began arriving after 8:30 and the first bell rang at 8:50. Five minutes later the students said the Pledge of Alligance and morning announcements were made. The average daily instructional time was about four and a half hours. Mathematics and reading activities were usually conducted between 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. During that time, CBEP students went to Chapter I for half an hour. At 11:05 the K-1 CBEP group went to lunch. At 11:15 the two 2nd-5th grade CBEP groups went to lunch.

After lunch, the kindergarten students took a short nap. Then the whole class would gather on a large braided rug and the teacher would read them a story. The K-1 afternoon activities were varied and included language enrichment activities,

science, social studies, and work in the different activity centers. The 2nd-5th grade afternoon activities included language arts, writing, mathematics, and social studies. Students also had an opportunity to finish morning assignments. In addition to the daily activities, the CBEP students also had library, music, art, and gym once a week. The regular kindergarten students left at 1:30 every day. Five Southeast Asian kindergarteners who were in the regular academic program came to Jennifer's class at 2:00 p.m. immediately after they had a half hour of ESL instruction. They had to wait for the 2:45 bus. Between 2:30 and 2:45, the CBEP students had recess. From 2:35 the busses arrived and picked up children. By 2:50 p.m. the busses had left the school grounds. The teachers worked in their classrooms or met in the teacher's lounge until they left at 3:45 p.m.

Urbantown Junior High

Urbantown Junior High was one of the oldest schools in Urbantown and located in a downtown section of the city. It was a large, red-stone factory looking building constructed in the early 1920s. The campus covered a city block. The entire school was surrounded by a chain link fence that was open at the front of the building. Two years after I conducted my study a gate was added to the fence that was locked every night. There was a large concrete basketball and volleyball area on the east side of the main building. The administration offices were located on the first floor directly across from the main entrance. The gym was located in the main building, as well as most of the classrooms. The guidance offices and the teachers lounge and workroom were on the second floor. The 7th - 9th grade CBEP class and the three-computer lab were located on the second floor near the guidance offices.

The annex was located west of the main building. Between the main building and the annex was a small concrete area also used for gym activities. On the first

floor of the annex building were the shop, woodworking, graphics art, and the In School Suspension Program classes. On the second floor of the annex home economics, health, one of the CBE Program classes, and the ESL resource class were located. The cafeteria covered the third floor of the annex. West of the annex was a very small field that the students used for soccer. About a block away there was an indoor pool at a Catholic church where the students were able to take swimming classes as part of their regular physical education program.

Urbantown Junior High was one of the few schools in Urbantown that was both racially and economically balanced without bussing. The student body was about 50% white and 50% black. Most of these students lived within walking distance from the school. An additional 150 language minority students were bussed from the inner city making the total student population approximately 950 students. The school was located in what had been a fashionable residential area in Urbantown. When I conducted my study, the surrounding area included everything from low rent apartments to upper middle class single family homes. About half of the students were on free lunch.

Teachers usually arrived between 7:15 and 7:30 a.m. Students were allowed in the building at 7:40, and the homeroom bell rang ten minutes later. The students had six 55-minute periods per day and lunch. The teachers taught five periods and had one planning period. There was also a 10-minute break at the end of the morning for students to return to their lockers and get books and materials for their afternoon classes. The day ended for the students at 2:30 and for the teachers at 3:30 p.m.

Participants

The Administration

Two administrators who were not included in the study were indirectly involved with the CBE Program: William Donovan, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction and Glen Anderson, General Director of Special Programs. They were responsible for the development and implementation of curriculum and instruction for the Urbantown School District, grades K-12. They supervised the principals and Bill, as well as all the other principals in the district.

Their involvement with the CBE Program was minimal. When the CBE Program was first proposed by the teachers and principals, Donovan and Anderson met with the teachers and gave "guidance and direction to the CBEP project" (CBEP Proposal, p. 1). Jennifer, the CBEP kindergarten teacher, said that the primary concern Donovan and Anderson had when they first met with the teachers and principals was to make sure that the non-graded program of instruction proposed by the teachers did not lead to social promotion of the students. Social promotion had been a problem in the school district in the 1970s. One of the superintendent's first policies was to eliminate social promotion and to establish grade-level promotion standards. Anderson was responsible for setting up meetings with the school board representatives, Bill, the principals, and teachers. He worked with Bill on budget concerns. Neither Anderson nor Donovan was involved with the actual development and implementation of the CBE Program.

Three administrators were involved in this study: the two principals and Bill, the ESL/Bilingual Program Director for the district. Bill worked with the teachers to develop the program. The principals were responsible for supervising the teachers as the program was implemented.

Bill, Coordinator ESL/Bilingual Programs

In the mid 1970s, Bill was promoted to curriculum specialist for the Urbantown bilingual program. Four years later, he was promoted again to program coordinator. His immediate supervisor was Glen Anderson. Bill had a B.A. in elementary education and two Masters degrees: one in exceptional education and one in administration and supervision. He had no training in Bilingual Education or in ESL.

In addition to supervising the new CBE Program, Bill also had 10 other teachers in the bilingual and ESL programs and 10 to 15 aides to supervise. His duties included:

1. Supervising the identification of LEP students in the district according to the district's OCR plan. Supervising testing and placement of all minority language students entering the Urbantown schools;
2. Coordinating all aspects of the CBE, Bilingual, and ESL programs, including identification, purchasing, and distributing materials to program teachers; coordination of programs with regular school programs; and organization of district-wide program functions such as PAC meetings and the annual parent- student picnic;
3. Planing, developing, and arranging the operating procedures pertaining to bilingual education and ESL curriculum development;
4. Coordinating the development of curriculum guides for the Bilingual, ESL and CBE Programs;
5. Supervising project staff activities.
6. Working with principals, regular classroom teachers, support personnel, and the CBE Program staff in developing and coordinating the program with regular school programs;

7. Maintaining all CBE Program records;
 8. Compiling and preparing with project staff all required reports for federal, state, and local educational agencies;
 9. Interviewing and recommending applicants for project staff positions;
 10. Acting as a liason between the school district and local social service agencies;
 11. Coordinating inservice activities and programs for project staff;
 12. Supervising administration of evaluation instruments;
 13. Working closely with the Urbantown School district Division of Research, Planning, and Evaluation to maintain an effective monitoring system for program evaluation purposes;
 14. Assuming responsibility for overall success of the program;
 15. Assisting school librarians in selecting appropriate books, periodicals, and AV materials for the CBE, Bilingual and ESL programs at each school site; and
 16. Attending pupil placement meetings and other pupil staffings at school sites.
- Bill also acted as a liason with the LEP parents in Urbantown and worked to get and maintain parent involvement in the district Parent Advisory Committee. Every five years he coordinated the district review of ESL and Bilingual textbooks being considered for state adoption. He helped me with my initial proposal, made arrangements for me to meet with key district personnel, and was instrumental in getting my proposal approved by the Urbantown School Board. In August when I began my research, Bill was given the added responsibility of coordinating bus routes for all students in the CBEP, Bilingual, and ESL programs.

Regina, Urbantown Elementary School Principal

Regina was in her 30s. She completed her requirements for an administrative certificate and was appointed principal of Urbantown Elementary two years before I conducted my study. She had been teacher of gifted children in the school district for ten years before working at Urbantown Elementary. Urbantown Elementary was a challenging principal assignment. School enrollment was declining and tests scores were below the district average.

Regina's only experience teaching language minority students included two weeks of summer school. She had no academic preparation in ESL or Bilingual Education. She occasionally visited the CBEP classrooms, but did not specifically observe the teachers as they worked to implement the CBE Program. She usually met with the teachers in her office when she wanted to discuss something with them.

Carla, Urbantown Junior High Principal

Carla had been a teacher and then a vice-principal in the district. She was appointed principal of Urbantown Junior High the year I conducted my study. She replaced Johnathan who had been principal for five years. He had taken one of the worst schools in the district and had turned it into one of the best. Under his leadership, Urbantown Junior High received a national award as a school of academic excellence.

Unlike Johnathan, who had held bi-weekly faculty meetings, Carla held four faculty meetings the entire year. She rarely visited the teachers in their classrooms. I met with her twice to give her written up-dates and to advise her of my research activities. At the second meeting she told me it was not necessary to talk with her. The teachers could keep her updated concerning my activities, and we did not need

to have regularly scheduled meetings. The meetings I had with her were informal and generally occurred in the main office.

After I completed my study, I asked both teachers for their perceptions of Carla. Both said she was a good principal. Her primary concerns were the students, their education, and their welfare. I learned from Ellen that there were many problems of which I was not aware. These problems were related to running a large inner city school. I asked Ellen for an example of the things the principal considered to be problems and which she had to resolve. Ellen gave me one example. Carla gave Ellen a ride home. On the way, they passed a group of men hanging out near the school. Carla identified several of the men as local drug dealers. She had met with several of them that afternoon and got them to agree to keep off the school grounds. Ellen suggested that since the CBE Programs seemed to be running well and since my research activities did not disrupt school activities, the CBEP classes and I were not problems. Therefore, Carla did not need to attend to us, but could direct her attention to more pressing issues.

The Teachers in the District

Before I conducted my study, Bill had administered a countywide survey to his ESL/Bilingual Education teachers. The purpose of the survey was to determine in-service training needs for school district. At that time there were six bilingual education and four ESL teachers employed in the school district. None of the teachers was certified in either bilingual education or ESL or had had any coursework in those two areas. None of the teachers taken courses in cross-cultural studies or linguistics. Other teachers in the school district were also unprepared. The original letter proposing the CBE Program, documented the need for in-service training at the schools serving those students.

There is a great need to strengthen the inservice program at the school sites. All instructors working with the bilingual and/or refugee student need to have greater understanding of how to assist these students in their cultural deprivation, language needs and also in involving the parents. This inservice should involve the teacher education center and a consultant with some magnitude of understanding the background of the refugee child and indepth knowledge of instruction to assist the instructors in the classroom to work with these students. (p. 2)

Teachers In this Study

Jennifer. Jennifer taught the K-1 class in the CBE Program. She received her B. A. in elementary education and was working on her Master's degree in elementary education. She had taught third grade for seven years at another school before she was surplused to Urbantown Elementary. She had never before taught kindergarten or first grade, nor had she taught students who did not speak English or who were from other countries. The day she reported for work, she did not know she would be teaching Southeast Asian students. Jennifer summarized her experience in the following interview:

Last year, I was surplused from the regular school program. I had been teaching third grade for approximately seven years when the surplus came in. I was quite devastated to have to uproot from my school and my faculty and leave the class after three weeks of school, and go to another school that I had no idea where it was. . . . When I called the principal and asked her what grade I would be teaching, she asked if the personnel director had explained the program to me. I told her no. She said, "Well, none of your students speak English." I asked her what language do they speak. She said they were from 15 different countries, but most of my students would be Southeast Asians. Hence began my career as an a teacher of LEP students.

During her first year at Urbantown Elementary, Jennifer learned about the Southeast Asian students. She adopted educational strategies and activities that she had used with her English-speaking third graders. She visited other teachers classrooms in an effort to learn what the children in the academic programs were doing and familiarized herself with the district curriculum guidelines for the kindergarten, first and second grades. As the year progressed, she learned more

about her students and their needs. Jennifer was the one of the five co-authors of the initial CBE Program proposal.

Mindy. Mindy taught in the regular fourth grade at Urbantown Elementary for four years. The two years before the CBE Program was proposed, Mindy's classes were about 50% Southeast Asian students. She was assigned to teach one of the second through fifth grade nongraded classes in the CBE Program the year I conducted my study. She had a B.A. in English and was certified in elementary education. Her ESL experience was limited to substitute teaching for six months in a district with language minority students. The principal's suggestions and reading books had helped her learn how to teach ESL students. She had no professional training in teaching English as a second language. The year before the CBE Program was implemented 13 of Mindy's students failed to meet the fourth grade promotion standards for the county. Mindy attributed the high failure rate to the number of LEP students in her class. She said that because they required so much time, she was unable to give the other students enough attention.

Mindy was not one of the original teachers who worked on the CBEP proposal, but she was assigned by the principal to work on developing the program. In June, she was chosen by the principal to work with Rita Martin on the CBE Program Guide. The principal asked Mindy to be Chair for the ESL/CBE Program at the elementary school.

In January, the principal choose Mindy to be the primary teacher to work on a state award for innovative academic school programs. The award is given annually by the State Department of Education to ten schools. Mindy was chosen to work on the award because of her background in English. She was given one day a week off for 10 weeks during the spring semester. A substitute teacher or other teachers in the school were assigned to teach Mindy's class the days she worked on

the award. Mindy would spend her days off writing, gathering program documentation, interviewing people in the community, and meeting with the principal. She also spent time in her classroom working on the portfolio required for the award. The portfolio, a 50 page, 16" x 20" black scrapbook, included descriptions of the program, pictures taken throughout the school year, and program related documents. Mindy worked from February through April developing the portfolio.

Rita. Rita was the 7-9th grade CBE Program classroom teacher and one of the teachers who co-authored the original CBE Program proposal. Rita was in her early 60s. She had left college in 1940, married, and moved to South America. In the 1960s she taught 4th grade at an American school in South America. After her husband died, she returned to the United States, where she taught mathematics at a private Catholic school while completing her degree in elementary education. Then she worked as director of a day care center in Urbantown. Four years before I conducted my research, Rita was hired to teach ESL at Urbantown Junior High. Two years later she completed her add-on teacher certification in English. She did not have any coursework in teaching English as a second language, applied linguistics, or bilingual/multicultural education. Because she had been at the school longer than Ellen or the ESL resource teacher, she was made ESL Department Chair at Urbantown Junior High.

Ellen. Ellen was the CBE Program 6th-grade self contained classroom teacher at Urbantown elementary. She was also an ESL resource teacher and had 16 seventh and eighth grade students who came to her for ESL instruction from one to two hours every day. Ellen began her undergraduate degree, married, and left school to raise a family. After her husband graduated, the family moved to the Middle East. Ellen learned the language of the country in which they were living,

and finished her degree in English Literature at the national university. After finishing her degree she got a job at a private school where she taught English as a second language to ninth graders.

Ellen had had no preparation in teaching English as a second language. She described her first experience this way.

I had one day of preparation. The other teacher and I met with the department head, and he gave us the book. The next day I was teaching ESL. We used the audiolingual method. We were supposed to do a lot of repetition and drills It was so dull. . . . I figured you can't learn English or a language without talking. And the kids would talk and I would talk I did a lot of things right, but it was purely by accident.

Ellen taught ESL classes four years in the Middle East, until her husband was transferred to another country where they lived for seven years. Then they moved to the States and Ellen enrolled in a masters program in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). She said her graduate work gave her names for her instructional practices, but was limited in its usefulness.

While I think my training was very helpful, I think it was very unrealistic. Very little was of practical value. The focus of the program was to train teachers from overseas to return home and set up ESL programs in their countries. The program didn't prepare you to teach in U.S. schools.

Ellen and her husband moved to Urbantown after she finished her degree. She got a job teaching English to seventh and eighth graders at Urbantown Junior High. She had never taught American students before. The year I conducted my study, an ESL teacher left and Ellen was assigned to teach her classes in the CBE Program. During her initial interview with Bill, he explained the CBE Program and the new approach Ellen would be using. He told her to work with Rita on setting up the program.

I met with Rita who told me I would be teaching content. I said you've got to be crazy. . . . She said that it was very easy. That there was nothing to it, just teach the kids from the books that were there.

Although Ellen was certified in ESL and English, she did not have any training in teaching the content areas. She was given some books and told to teach from them. The program she developed is discussed in Chapter VII.

Ellen and her husband had two grown children. Much of Ellen's understanding about the problems students face learning a second language and becoming part of a new culture and community came from Ellen's experiences with her children as well as from her overseas teaching experiences. When Ellen and her husband moved to the Middle East, her children were in elementary and junior high school. She and her children worked to learn a new language, and she helped her children become assimilated into a new culture. Ellen knew first hand the problems both her current ESL students and their parents faced learning English and learning to live in the United States. Since she had taught English in the regular academic program the year before she was assigned to the CBE Program and had had mainstreamed Southeast Asian refugees in her classes, she also knew the problems faced by both teachers and LEP students once students were no longer in the ESL program.

CHAPTER V ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CBE PROGRAM

In this chapter I discuss how individual administrators influenced the social context in which the four teachers implemented the CBE Program. I describe how I documented the administrators' perspectives. I examine historical events that shaped Urbantown's present educational bureaucracy and identify major educational problems that district personnel worked to resolve before I conducted my study. I discuss the role that Peter Thames, the Superintendent, played as he directed the district-wide actions taken to resolve problems the district faced. I argue that policies Peter initiated in the mid 1970s continued to shape the present day context of the Urbantown school district. Finally, I examine the principals' roles in shaping the social context at each of the schools and discuss Bill's influence on the implementation of the CBE Program.

The Urbantown School District Administrative Perspective

The official Urbantown School District goals were stated in district curriculum guides, school handbooks, official policy statements, and the county's educational newsletter. I documented the principals' and Bill's understandings of the problems they faced and the actions they took to resolve those problems through interviews, observations during staff meetings, and fieldnotes taken in the teachers' classrooms. The type of paperwork administrators required the teachers to maintain and the procedures they expected the teachers to follow gave me insight into the kinds of problems the administrators identified and worked to resolve. I also learned about the district-level perspective through articles in the local newspaper, grant proposals, correspondence, and other program documents.

As I worked to document the administrative perspective, I realized that the present policies and educational emphasis had their beginnings before I began my study. I read issues of The Urbantown Times (UT) from 1965 to early 1980s in an effort to reconstruct the historical events that shaped the current social context. As I began to understand the past events, actions of the CBEP administrators and teachers that had once seemed meaningless became meaningful.

Urbantown District Goals and Problems: A Historical Context

Although Urbantown is a large city, much of the district is rural. Consolidation in the 1960s had made the Urbantown school district geographically large. Consolidation also brought a diverse group of schools, teachers, and students under a single administration. Building a unified school district with standardized policies and curricula was a primary goal for the administration. Developing quality educational programs that met the needs of a diversified student body was another goal.

In the early 1970s, low test scores in the county had become an important issue. Despite a county-wide campaign to raise the scores, Urbantown's scores declined two years in a row. An article in the Urbantown Times (UT) blamed low test scores on consolidation. The next year the district's standardized test scores declined for the third year, and the Superintendent resigned under pressure from a disgruntled School Board. Peter Thames, an employee in the district, applied for and was hired as Superintendent. He had worked closely with the School Board and was familiar with the Board's plans to raise scores. In his final interview, reported in the UT, he stated that, if hired, he would establish a strong centralized district and would greatly reduce the degree of autonomy that the district schools

and teachers had. Peter made it clear that he intended to lead the school district to academic excellence.

Peter and His Influence on the Urbantown Educational System

Improved Test Scores

Peter's first action as Superintendent was to implement the School Board's proposed plan for grade-level testing in all elementary schools.¹ He formed a committee of elementary school principals to develop promotion standards and achievement tests based on those standards. The new tests were to be administered to all elementary school students that spring. The purpose of these tests was to identify all district schools that were (and were not) maintaining minimum academic standards. By May, all elementary students in the district had taken the newly developed county achievement tests. In October of the following year, the Board approved final drafts of the county's new mathematics and reading basic skills tests.

Peter proposed two additional actions to raise county test scores: the development of a strong county-wide, competency-based, back-to-the-basics curriculum, and the development and implementation of uniform grading standards for the county secondary schools. To achieve the first goal, he appointed two committees of elementary school principals and secondary content area supervisors to develop grade-level competency standards. The elementary committee developed the minimal competency basic skills lists in language arts and

¹ The first two years Peter was in office, there were more than 250 articles in the Urbantown Times documenting Peter's policies, public and teacher reaction to those policies, and effects those policies had on the school district. These articles, program related documents, and interviews with Bill and other administrative personnel in the district were used to reconstruct the historical context and document Peter's influence on the present social context.

mathematics for grades k-6. Teachers kept a copy of the lists in every child's cumulative folder. Administrative policy required teachers to document for every student the date the teacher introduced specific skills and when the student mastered those skills. The lists also indicated when skills would be tested on the state and county tests.

Peter's second year as superintendent, more than 35 elementary and junior high schools raised their scores. By the early 1980s, all district schools had succeeded in meeting the minimum standards set by the School Board. Administrators' appreciation for Peter's leadership in achieving the district's goal was evident when I conducted my study. In April, Urbantown Elementary School submitted its project for a state award for educational innovation. The project documented the development and implementation of the CBE Program at the school. The first page of the project acknowledged Peter's leadership.

Peter: A sincere thanks and appreciation for enabling our school system to [meet academic standards] under your leadership. You continually motivate the Urbantown County School System to strive for academic excellence in all areas. . . . We now recognized nationally in many areas.

Peter's emphasis on building a centralized administration, and his subsequent emphasis on district-wide academic standards and testing served the useful and important functions of setting uniform county standards and meeting the School Board's goal of improving student performance on standardized achievement tests.

Beginning in the early 1970s, the results of most standardized tests were reported each year in the Urbanville Times. Average scores were reported by school and, when applicable, district averages were compared with those of other districts. At Urbantown Elementary, test scores for each teacher by grade level were graphed and posted on six large wall-charts in the cafeteria. Teachers were

ranked according to how well students had done on state and district tests. The principal and many of the faculty considered teachers with the highest scores to be the best teachers and those with the lowest to be the worst.

When I conducted my study, the county emphasis on test scores was still strong. In January, the attention of teachers and students alike fixed on the spring battery of national, state, and district tests. At the two schools in this study, testing ruled the curriculum of many teachers. For many teachers, preparing students to pass the tests was their foremost educational goal. Teachers selected materials and planned instructional activities that would develop their students' test-taking skills. Some teachers taught to the test. Several teachers at the junior high school, for example, gave students problems from old copies of the tests. Others, such as Mindy, organized their entire curriculum around all the objectives and skills that would be evaluated on the county and state tests. During March and April, teachers devoted three weeks of class-time to administering the standardized tests at the elementary school and two weeks at the junior high.

The Southeast Asian students entering the Urbantown schools posed a problem for school administrators and teachers. An estimated 85% of the Southeast Asian students failed both the state and county mandated tests necessary for grade level promotion. In the schools, test scores became a primary indicator of student and teacher success. The poor test performance of the Southeast Asian students significantly lowered school-wide and classroom scores. One reason the CBE Program won the support of teachers and administrators was that the program proposed to place the low-scoring Southeast Asian students in self-contained classrooms where they would receive special help and would not bring down the test-score averages of regular classrooms.

The district administration's emphasis on testing also affected the CBEP curriculum. The teachers took care to incorporate test-taking skills into their instructional activities. As the April testing dates approached, I made the following entry in my journal:

State and county tests loom ever present in the teachers' minds and the tests are guiding [daily] lessons and the curriculum content in general. [The teachers'] primary goal is to enable the kids to pass the tests. Jennifer does this by integrating [test-taking] skills with her instructional program and really teaching the skills step- by-step. Mindy does this by using the practice skills tests as her course content.

For many [Southeast Asian] students, the tests have no meaning. In March, Jennifer was working with the kindergarteners. Twice when they were talking instead of doing their work she asked "Don't you want to pass the test?" The look on the students' faces [indicated] that [they didn't] have any idea what she is talking about: (a) they have never taken the county tests because this is their first year in the U.S.; (b) they have no experience at all with objective tests; and (c) they [don't know what it means to fail or pass] the test. They don't understand that the test helps determine their academic futures, allowing them entrance to or excluding them from an academic track.

The teachers have different attitudes about preparing students to take the tests. Mindy and Rita think [it is responsibility to present the material]. Mindy is keeping very accurate records to [document that her] students took all the practice tests. Rita and Mindy have told me, "They've heard it; they should know it." Both have made statements that attribute student failure to learning disabilities, laziness, and low attention span rather than to their own teaching.

Mindy especially is satisfied that she has done a good job because she has followed every directive: gets her lesson plans in on time, maintains order, and has kept her Basic Skills List up to date for each student. Jennifer told me that Mindy's class had the lowest scores last year. I asked Mindy about that. She explained that the non-English speaking students in her room lowered the class average.

Jennifer and Ellen seem to express different attitudes. They have analyzed the test and identified the test-taking skills their students need to know; for example, knowing the vocabulary necessary to follow test directions, and knowing how to complete different test formats such as multiple choice and fill in the blank. They blame themselves [when] their students haven't mastered some of the skills. Not setting high enough standards, not assessing the students' needs, not organizing instruction properly are reasons they have given me [for poor student performance]. Jennifer, for example, has been having difficulty using a phonics approach with one of her students. In March, she told me that she had been

observing Kim and thinks he is trying to learn how to read by memorizing the shape of the word.

"He is attending to form. He hasn't yet made the sign-sound correlation."

She has been working with Kim on developing sight words and hopes that he will know enough sight words to pass the test, but she is doubtful. The test is phonics based.

Three teachers emphasized testing in their classes. Mindy taught to the test. Jennifer and Ellen taught test-taking skills and incorporated those skills into all the content areas. Rita presented information, but did not emphasize the development of understanding or application of the skills she presented. Of the four, only Jennifer and Ellen were openly critical of the tests. They did not believe the tests provided accurate measures of the skills or information their students learned during the year.

Computer Literacy

When the CBE Program was proposed, the Urbantown administration, had identified computer literacy as a priority for both teachers and students in the district. Computer literacy was a means to an end. The central administration believed that the computers would help students master basic mathematics and language arts skills and thus would improve test scores. The county invested millions of dollars in computers and computer software. When I first met with Bill to discuss my study, the first thing he showed me was the School Board's new computer laboratory. The laboratory was a large room with approximately 30 computers and twenty or more software programs available for teachers and administrators to use. Computer advocates in the county envisioned that the laboratory would become a learning center where Urbantown teachers and administrators would become computer literate. The administration believed that

computer literate teachers would quickly implement computer-assisted programs in the Urbantown schools.

By the early-1980s computer software was just being developed for the bilingual and English as a second language classrooms. Nevertheless, the administration was confident that computers would facilitate learning for language minority students. On page one of a memo to the CBEP teachers and principals, one county-level administrator, recommended:

That a different instructional approach be developed for these unique "refugee" students. By definition, these students did not receive instruction in their own language in their own country prior to their arrival in the United States. There is little material readily available to assist these students. The development of a language development laboratory program which would act as a supplement until these students are ready to be mainstreamed might be of some assistance

In an effort to streamline the process of mastering the English language, the components of the lab will have computer assisted instruction, video-image learning, and tape recorded material.

Connors, the consultant brought in to help develop the CBEP curriculum had adapted computer software specifically for use with non-English speaking students. Bill secured more than \$10,000 from the county to purchase materials from Connors, computers for each classroom at the elementary school, and a three-computer laboratory at the junior high. In our initial meetings, Bill stated his belief that the use of computers in the CBE Program would significantly improve the Southeast Asian students' test scores. In a grant proposal submitted to the U.S.D.O.E., Bill wrote:

Micro-computer assisted instruction provides a framework in which individualization of instruction can be achieved. [The] microcomputer-based management system that scores the student's mastery tests and provides specific information about competencies and weaknesses not only gives the student immediate feedback, but also keeps the teacher informed on a student by student basis. The student-teacher interactions, with explicit information available to both, can take place on a more substantive and

realistic basis. Not only can the teacher be more helpful in guiding each student, but the student is also better prepared to accept and deal with teacher guidance and assessment.

Bill's faith in computer-assisted instruction shaped his expectations for the CBE Program's success. Connors' materials, however, did not meet the expectations outlined above. Most of the materials were drill and practice activities. Jennifer, the K-1 teacher called them "electronic dittos." She found that the students working with the materials seldom mastered concepts. Students worked on a specific activity until they correctly answered 80% of the test-items. After some practice, students began to fly through the activities. Jennifer noted, however, that while the computer records indicated skills students "mastered," students did not demonstrate mastery in their other work. Troubled by this lack of congruity, Jennifer watched the students as they worked at the computer. She soon came to see that students quickly learned the answer patterns for each activity. Student scores reflected that they had successfully cracked the computer code, not that they understood the skills being addressed. Because the computer activities did not accurately assess student knowledge, Jennifer tested each student to assess what they had learned. At best, Jennifer said that the computer activities simply reinforced some of the skills she was teaching.

The county emphasis on testing and computer literacy represented an important aspect of the social context within which the CBE Program was implemented. No matter how the CBEP teachers personally felt about testing, the reality was that the administration's top priorities included preparation for testing and high student test scores. The pressure to use the computers was strong as well.

Competency-Based Curricula

In addition to testing, county administrators emphasized competency-based approaches to program development. This emphasis was evident in the county

grade-level curriculum guides and the basic skills mastery lists all elementary teachers were required to maintain for each child. The guides provided detailed lists of competencies. The mastery lists indicated at which grade each competency was to be introduced and at which grade it would be tested on the state as well as county skills tests.

The emphasis on competency approaches affected the county programs for language minority students. Urbantown's first federally funded bilingual education program was competency-based by grade level. The curriculum guide for that program included detailed objectives, lists of competencies to be mastered, and suggestions and activities for teachers to facilitate student mastery. The year the English as a second language program was established, county teachers under Bill's supervision developed two massive lists of English language competencies: one for elementary and one for junior and senior high school students. These lists were the 'official' basis for the Urbantown ESL Program. Finally, the CBE Program curriculum guide the teachers and Connors developed was competency-based. The CBE Program teachers correlated county competencies in language arts and mathematics with the materials purchased from Connors.

Connors organized his materials into what he called a mastery learning approach to instruction. The following description of the mastery learning approach was included in the CBE Program proposal.

In this [mastery learning] approach, the crucial skills to be learned are identified. Students are placed into an appropriate instructional sequence based upon their performance on diagnostic tests which are designed to measure their mastery of the skills. . . . After each unit of study, students take a criterion-referenced mastery test to evaluate their performance on the unit objectives.

Management of their own learning is a crucial skill for [LEP] students to master. An important but not commonly recognized cultural difference between American and Indochinese education, for example, is the

classroom climate. There is almost a complete dependence upon the teacher in Indochinese schools. Indochinese students need to learn to take initiative in the management of their own learning. An individualized instructional program capable of letting students take initiative within a structure they can relate to and understand can develop a student's self-management skills. Through the frequent use of mastery tests students develop an awareness of their strengths and weaknesses as well as the progress they are making. From this base, they can see the importance of remediation and the value of enrichment. In these ways, the mastery learning center as an instructional environment develops the student's awareness of the learning process that is going on. This awareness also allows the students to monitor and manage his/her own learning.

Connors' approach as described above fit nicely with the district emphasis on competency-based approaches. Once skills were correlated with the district competencies, teachers at each grade level knew exactly which materials could be used with their students.

The Top-Down Bureaucracy of the Urbanville School District

Peter argued that the goal of higher test scores could be attained by implementing a well delineated system of accountability. To achieve that goal, he implemented a top-down approach to management that emphasised compliance with administrative policy. Top-down management approaches had a long history in the Urbantown School District as reported in the UT and confirmed by interviews with Bill, the teachers, and resource teachers at the two schools. After consolidation in the mid-60s, most of the decision-making power was allocated to the School Board. When Peter was appointed Superintendent in the mid 1970s, he worked to strengthen the decision-making power of that office.

Peter believed that the Urbantown schools test scores had declined because schools and teachers had too much autonomy. He also claimed that a strong centralized district would be necessary for the schools to raise the scores. As discussed, one of Peter's primary concerns was to improve the county's educational programs and standards. Central to his proposal was the development of grade-level

ability tests to prevent social promotion of students. One of his first acts as Superintendent was to establish a committee of elementary school principals to develop promotion standards and achievement tests. As reported in the UT, he believed that principals should be the primary leaders in the educational process in the county.²

The instructional leadership status of the principals was still evident when I conducted my study. In March, for example, Peter recommended a change in the administrative salary schedule that insured that no principal would make less than any teacher in his/her school. It was rumored among the teachers that Peter's unofficial reasoning was that the principalship was a higher status job and it was not right that a principal should make less than a teacher. Although Peter publicly denied having made such a statement, the pay raises in fact had that effect. The Urbantown Junior High teachers' union representative pointed out that it was "no longer possible for a teacher with a Ph.D. and 25 years teaching experience to make as much as an M.A. elementary school principal, who was new to the county." The principals' new salary schedules published by the union documented that the average pay increase for the principals was 15.4%. About 25% received more than 30% increases. The teachers received a 3% increase that year. The administrative raises were made without public discussion. The practice of making salary decisions without public input, although criticized by the UTU, was legally established by the district in the mid 1970s.

² The appointment of the principals, not teachers, to develop promotion standards and the emphasis on the principals as the primary leaders in the educational process are examples of ascribed role attributes given to county principals. These attributes were constantly reinforced in the newspaper by Peter. Principals were expected to be instructional leaders whether or not they were.

Compliance and Image-Making at the County Level

In Man in the Prindipal's Office, Harry Wolcott noted (1974) that "the cultural anthropologist is interested in how people resolve problems, particularly those problems which are recognized collectively and which are resolved through adaptive patterns of behavior that are learned and shared" (p. 317). In the Urbantown School district, Peters' top-down approach to management and his desire to establish a strong centralized school system affected the development of adaptive patterns of behavior that were shared by many administrators and teachers. Doing a good job came to mean complying with administrative policy, or doing what you were told. Many individuals in the school district worked to maintain an appearance of policy compliance and exemplary performance. In some cases, appearances were more important than reality. I called the desire to maintain the appearance of compliance "image-making." Demonstrating compliance became an important goal for administrators and teachers alike. Thus, a problem that Urbantown administrators and teachers faced was how to look as though they had complied. The high premium on hiding problems or giving them the appearance of being solved became an important "image-making" strategy. For example, administrators and teachers developed elaborate methods for documenting program delivery when their instructional programs failed, when they were unable to produce the results they were asked to. I provide examples of this strategy in Chapter VI.

In February, the year I conducted my research, I participated in a two-day leadership training workshop. The workshop consultant was Frank Jackson, Director of the Urbantown Administrators' Leadership Project.³ I interviewed him and gained

³ Urbantown Administrators' Training Project (UALP) was an independent training agency based in Urbantown. The State had begun extensive research and development of new certification guidelines for principals. UALP was working with districts

insights into the organization of the Urbantown School District. Jackson agreed with my analysis of Urbantown as a top-down district. His perceptions of the district helped me to understand some of the problems I had identified that affected the implementation of the CBE Program. Jackson helped me to understand the impact the top-down management had on at the school level. I also understood better why image-making was so important.

Administrators in this Study and their Influence on the CBE Program

Bill and his Emphasis on Compliance

During the February interview, I asked Jackson for his perceptions of Bill and his role as an administrator in the Urbantown administrative hierarchy. I briefly described decisions the principals had made. I learned that Bill had no say in hiring teachers for the Bilingual Education, ESL, or CBEP programs. Although he could recommend individuals, the final hiring decision was left to the principal. Bill had to work with whomever the principals hired.

You have to understand, Bill's job is support, not training. He implements. His decision making is limited to the program. Building-level decisions are the principal's. What Bill needs is an instructional resource teacher, one who provides training for the teachers.

I constructed a taxonomy 'ways Bill provides support' to understand Bill's role within the District and ways his role affected the CBE Program implementation process. My initial impression of Bill was that he emphasized compliance. He completed every task he was given and completed every report on time. He knew everyone in the school board office, and knew exactly what procedures to follow to get things done. As I reanalyzed my data, however, I could see that Bill stood as a

throughout the state to train principals and other administrators in problem solving skills and other competencies related to the new standards.

buffer between the program and the district administration and in so doing, projected an image of compliance. At the same time, he saw his teachers as professionals, valued their input, supported them, and gave them room to do their work.

Despite his concern about developing a quality program, Bill was still caught between his desire to have a good instructional program and the School Board and Superintendent's concern for accountability and management. He gave his teachers enough autonomy to develop their programs, yet he still had expectations about what they were to do. An April interview indicated the complex dynamics that shaped Bill's perceptions and expectations about the teachers and the problems to which he attended.

I am very happy with the junior high program. I think Rita is using the program appropriately.

[Why do you think that?]

She has integrated the Mastery Skills Program (MSP) materials [purchased from Connors] with the other things she teaches--social studies and math. She has adapted the materials to her teaching situation.

I don't think that the elementary teachers have done as well. Last week the elementary teachers told me that the MSP materials have a lot of problems, so they aren't really using the materials as they were intended to be used. For Jennifer, the materials may be too hard. For the other kids, I don't think they are. For me, Mindy and Consuelo⁴ should be able to combine their expertise and existing materials and utilize the parts.

[What do you mean?]

Sections of the MSP materials that are appropriate for the children's level and for the skills the teacher is developing. Instead of having something that will do it all for you, you have to add your own expertise and knowledge. Here it is at the end of the school year and they're just now telling me that the MSP materials are no good. Rita is using it the right way. She combines the materials with her own program.

You [the elementary teachers] have your own Basic Skills List. That tells you what skills you have to teach. It doesn't tell you how to teach them. The MSP materials guide tells you how to teach some skills. They should

⁴ Consuelo Romero was the Spanish-speaking CBEP teacher who had Spanish-speaking students in her classroom. Because she spoke her students' first language, she did not qualify for my study.

modify it [the materials], then use both the MSP suggestions for teaching and their own expertise as teachers. By using the MSP materials, it enhances the students learning.

I know for the older students you can't use certain materials. Don't just say it's no good. Give me a list. Then we can have a workshop and go over the problems. I could have Connors give a workshop in August based on problems the teachers encountered working with our specific population.

It burns me up. I go once or twice a week to visit the schools. They never said the materials weren't effective. It doesn't do the whole job. No program provides a total program. It's the first step. Every teacher has to use their expertise. . . . Make notations of likes and dislikes. Don't tell me in April the program isn't working. That loses my confidence in those teachers. Jennifer at least tries. She uses what she can.

Mindy is using other materials. She is not using the materials and the student booklets. . . . They should have taken notes. . . . I've read through the materials, and I think the program could work. There is a lot of room for improvement, that's where the teachers expertise comes in. They have to use their expertise, modify what you like. . . . I don't think Consuelo and Mindy are trying that hard. It takes a little work to modify the program. They'd rather go their own merry way. I think that's why the kids aren't doing well.

You know, I put my neck on the line with this program. You don't get the Board to spend more than \$10,000 on materials and tell them they didn't work.

The above excerpt illustrates some of Bill's assumptions. He viewed teachers as competent professionals whose job is to modify the program materials they are given. He assumed that the teachers had the ability to evaluate the appropriateness of materials and modify them. Bill also expected that if teachers had problems with materials, they would identify the problems and tell him. The teachers did not know he had these expectations.

In Chapter VI, I document, for example, that Mindy knew she was not implementing the CBE Program as envisioned by Bill. She did not want Bill or the downtown administration to know. She did not think they would understand all the problems she had had trying to implement the individualized instructional approach. Ironically, the above interview also illustrates Bill's own concern with image-making. Bill felt that since he had put his "neck on the line" by convincing the administration to spend in excess of \$10,000 on Connors materials, the teachers

needed to use those materials. While he realized that the materials were not perfect, he felt they were usable.

Bill believed that the teachers should use or adapt the materials they were given. Because Rita used the materials, even though they were inappropriate for her students, Bill often stated that she was the best teacher. The teachers who did not use the materials were seen as "not trying hard enough." Their failure to use the materials created a problem for Bill, since it was up to him to supervise teachers. The following excerpt from a May interview with Rita illustrates Bill's perceptions and concerns.

Bill wants me to go over to the elementary school and show the teachers how to use the materials [we purchased from Connors]. What I don't understand is why they didn't organize the kids the way we did. Have one teacher take the non-speakers and maybe some of the slow learners. Have the other teacher take those who know a little more.⁵

[Rita, the grouping at the elementary school is different. Jennifer has K-1 and Mindy and Consuelo have 2-5. Not only were all the students non-speakers of English, they have multiple developmental and academic levels within their classes.]

But if they are all non-speakers of English, they should all be at the same level.

[But Rita, developmentally there is a great difference between 7 and 11 year olds.]

I see what you mean. You have babies mixed in with adolescents. I had some of the sixth graders try some of that baby stuff with me. I told them they were in junior high now and I expected them to act like it.

Bill's insistence that Rita go to elementary school and teach the teachers how to use the materials, demonstrated his belief that the best teachers were the ones who used the materials they were given. Since Rita met his criteria, he felt that she would be the best person to show the other teachers how to integrate the materials into their instructional programs. Bill did not consider that the junior high and

⁵ When I tested the students at the beginning of the year, they were all at about the same level, in the first stanine on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

elementary materials were different, that Rita was unfamiliar with the elementary materials, or that Rita knew little about teaching elementary school students.

Bill's belief that good teachers use the materials they are given is an example of one definition of teaching that has been discussed in the literature on teacher professionalism. This definition contrasts another in which teachers would have been supported in their decision not to use materials and encouraged to use more appropriate materials. Darling-Hammond (1988) calls these definitions "doing things right" versus "doing the right thing." With the first definition, teaching means "unquestioned compliance with agency directives." With the second, teaching means the application of knowledge and training "to serve the needs of clients in intellectually honest ways" (p. 61). The ways the teachers' actions in this study were or were not supported by the administration reflect these two general definitions of teaching. In Chapter VIII, I argue that the Urbantown administrative support of teacher activities emphasized the "do things right" definition of teaching. This emphasis affected the social context in which the CBE Program was implemented, the kinds of problems the teachers acted on, the choices they made in the program implementation process, and, ultimately, the quality of educational program that the Southeast Asian refugees received.

The Principals' Emphasis on Compliance and Image-Making

Aspects of the Urbanville social context that influenced the implementation of the CBE Program at both schools included the following: the hierarchical organization in the school district, the dichotomy between the teachers and the administration, the administrations' emphasis on compliance, and the use of image-making to show compliance. The press of these factors upon the CBEP teachers emphasized the dual

role of schools I discussed in Chapter II: that of fiscal and personnel management and that of providing instructional services.

Elementary school

The first example of the elementary school principal's emphasis on compliance occurred the spring before the CBE Program was implemented. The ESL teachers and the elementary school principals attended a computer workshop sponsored by the Board. Jennifer, the CBE Program K-1, teacher asked questions about the software and its capabilities. The principal put her hand on Jennifer's arm and told her to be quiet. "The county has agreed to give us this for free. We are going to get it no matter what, so just sit and listen."

The principal's attitude expressed above was the first example I documented of her emphasis on compliance. After the computer software was delivered, Jennifer reviewed it carefully to judge its applicability for her students. In a subsequent interview with me she said in exasperation that she had tried to use the software and it was inappropriate for her students. Jennifer believed that the money spent on the program would have been better spent on materials she could have used. She said teachers should have some say in reviewing materials before they were purchased for instructional programs.

Throughout my study, I documented examples of the principal's emphasis on compliance. Not only did she expect compliance with district policies, she expected teachers to comply with school policies and required extensive documentation that the work requested had been done. She valued handing forms in on time and used those forms to complete reports that demonstrated her leadership skill of getting teachers to comply with district directives. The principal's emphasis on compliance created conflict for the CBEP teachers. They often had to take instructional time to

do what she asked, or risk being reprimanded if they chose to teach and to do the required paperwork at home. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter VII. From my elementary school fieldnotes, I identified several general categories of compliance and image-making. These included teachers' actions to prevent the administration from knowing that they were not complying with administrative requests, administrative requests that required in class time and prevented teachers from teaching, and administrative requests related to maintaining an image that the CBE Program was being implemented. Within each categories, I documented specific examples and incidents.

The best example of image-making was related to a state award. In November, the principal asked me to outline some ideas for entering the CBE Program in the state competition for innovative school programs. Such an award would bring recognition to the district. In January, the principal assigned Mindy to work on the award. She had to compile paperwork, write text, gather pictures, interview people in the Southeast Asian and Urbantown communities, and document CBE Program events. From February through April, developing the award portfolio became Mindy's primary work assignment. Mindy received one day a week off for ten weeks to work on the award. She also used class time to complete the portfolio and worked at her desk while students copied boardwork, wrote the alphabet, or colored. The month before the award portfolio was due, Mindy occasionally left her class unattended to confer with the principal about the award materials. The final product documented a program that only partially existed. Ironically, one of the reasons that the program did not live up to the portfolio claims was that Mindy's efforts were diverted from instruction and program building to program image-making.

Another example of compliance occurred in March, two weeks before the state officials were scheduled to evaluate the CBE Program. On Mindy's recommendation, the principal decided that Jennifer and Consuelo would need to use the Urbantown Basic Skills List to demonstrate CBE Program delivery. The teachers had originally been told that they would only be required to use the IEP forms they developed specifically for the CBE Program. The principal and the resource teacher developed a new IEP form based on the skills list. I interviewed Mindy and the resource teacher in March about the new IEP form.

[The resource teacher begins,] "Yesterday morning, the principal and I developed a one-page IEP form. The principal wants the teachers to use the form for lesson plans. They will use the Basic Skills Lists (BSL) to identify every objective they have taught and the strategies they used, and they will [have] a sheet for each 9-week marking period. The BSL objectives will be coded 1, 2, 3, or 4 on the IEP we developed to indicate the marking period the skill will be introduced. Those will be general goals for each marking period. The teacher will indicate which skills the child mastered. The plans can be individualized since some students will [have mastered] more skills by the end of a marking period than other students will have."

[What was wrong with the original CBE Program IEP form?]

Mindy says, "The principal felt the form was too hard to follow and would make no sense to anyone down at the board."

The resource teacher agrees and adds, "She wanted something simple and workable so that the teachers could get caught up in a hurry."

Later that day, I interview Jennifer about the principal's decision.

"The principal informed us this morning that in two weeks the county people are coming to evaluate the program. IEPs have to be up-to-date. She asked me if my Basic Skills Lists were up-to-date. I told her no, that we had been told to use the CBE Program IEP forms we developed. It's called cover your ass. It's ridiculous to begin the BSL cards in March, documenting that we introduced and evaluated skills. We are three quarters through the year."

Consuelo comes in and tells me she will be testing her students on basic skills tests all afternoon. "The principal had all the K-4th grade tests run off for me."

Jennifer says, "I refuse to grade tests and fill in all the Basic Skills Lists during the day like Mindy is doing. [My class] is individualized and small group. I can't spread myself thin like that."

The principal had the secretaries run off hundreds of the practice skills tests for Jennifer and Consuelo. She gave them two weeks to administer all the tests, record results on the BSL, and document that they had correctly followed district procedures. Jennifer was concerned about the disruption of her instructional program, yet she had no choice but to test the students. She worked out a schedule that allowed the aide to test students in small group and individually. For almost two weeks she spent her evenings grading the tests and recording grades on each student's Basic Skills List. In the spring, the officials that came to the school to verify the program's existence spent less than three minutes in each class, never looked in the files, and did not stay long enough to observe how the teachers taught (documented in interviews and field notes). The school won the Award.

Junior high

The junior high school principal had been a teacher and a vice-principal in the district. Urbanville Junior High was her first principalship. She replaced a very successful principal who was transferred to improve the academic standing of another school. She held few faculty meetings, and rarely visited the classrooms. In April, I asked Rita her impressions of the new principal. The first thing she mentioned was that the principal did not visit the teachers.

You know, I really miss Johnathan our old principal. I haven't seen the new principal in a month. I've only seen her about three times since January. You have to be visible, make your presence known. You know, I have tried to be open about her. When people ask what I think, I say she is new and feeling out the territory.

The prior principal spent several hours of the school day in the halls. He stopped by the teachers' classrooms; the new principal did not. She seemed to expect that the teachers would do a professional job, and she gave them leeway to do their

work. Teachers were able to exercise a lot of professional judgement as a result of the principal's policy.

At the junior high school, maintaining an orderly class, handing in lesson plans on Monday morning, moving through the materials at an appropriate rate, and getting paperwork in on time maintained one's image of being organized, professional, and efficient. Such an image indicated that the teacher was doing his or her job. The principal left the teachers alone as long as the teachers did not appear to have problems related to classroom discipline or failure to cover the materials. Complying with school procedures indicated that all was well, and the principal was free to turn her attention to other problems. The May incident that follows describes my first real awareness of image making on the part of Rita.

May 20, Rita gave Ellen paperwork to fill out for the students to attend summer school. She told Ellen that two forms had to be filled out for each child and that the forms were due the next day. Ellen spent the evening trying to fill the forms out. She realized that she had never been given a copy of the 6th grade curriculum for the county and didn't feel that she could accurately fill in the information required on one form. In addition, the forms required a parent's signature and scores from the county skills test the students had just taken. Ellen decided to wait until the test scores came before sending the forms over to the summer school teachers.

[May 21, I am in Rita's room for an observation.]

Rita comes in and sits at her desk. She handed me a stack of papers. "Look, my forms are all done. Bill wants these sent directly to the elementary school. He doesn't want to fool with them." Rita looks at the form. "Oh, the parents didn't fill this out. Mr. Tran, would you please fill in the parent's addresses for me."

"You know, Ellen hasn't filled these out yet. She wants to wait for the test scores. My kids didn't take that exam. Well, guidance said they would send them over. Ellen can get them herself. Let's go to guidance."

[We go down the hall to guidance. Ellen hands the summer school forms to the secretary.]

"Here are the forms Bill requested. He wants them sent to the elementary school." Rita xeroxes a form.

The secretary comes over with an envelope and says, "Here they are, ready to go."

Rita takes the envelope. "You know, those are only my forms. Ellen isn't ready yet. She wants to wait for the test scores."

The secretary makes a comment about Ellen never having her forms in on time.

In the above incident, Rita portrayed herself as being efficient by getting her work in on time. The secretary was unaware that Rita gave Ellen the forms the day before they were due. She was also unaware that Ellen had two forms to complete, one of which required a parent's signature. As I reviewed my notes, I realized that Rita's compliance with Bill's requests, her use of all materials she was given, her appearance of covering the materials, and her compliance with school policy were the criteria by which Bill and the principal judged teachers. Bill saw Rita as being the best teacher in the CBE Program.

The Social Contexts of the Schools and their Influence on the CBE Program

Although each school was representative of the county, each school also provided school specific physical and social contexts in which the CBE Program was implemented. Each school had its own history, student body, policies, and procedures that affected how and where the CBE Program fit within the total school program. The principals had their own concerns and goals for their schools based on their interpretations of county policy and standards and their individual goals. The CBE Programs teachers had to deal with the goals and the policy directives the principals generated. Additionally, the CBEP teachers as members of the school faculties were required to fulfill their regular faculty duties as well as those of the CBE Program. These factors combined to shape the social contexts within which the CBE Program was implemented.

Context Related Problems CBEP Teachers Worked to Resolve

The CBEP teachers had to resolve numerous, unanticipated problems because the program was part of the Urbantown School District. I called problems that existed because of the social context "program management problems." The teachers had to

respond to these problems in order to get on with their instructional programs. As I analyzed the data, I also identified problems that the teachers identified and had to resolve as they implemented the CBE Program in their classrooms. I called these "instruction related problems." I discuss those problems in Chapters VI and VII.

One of the first unanticipated problems occurred when the principals at each school decided not to place any LEP students in the regular ESL program.⁶ They made this decision because they believed that all students really needed the CBE Program, and they could not justify denying access to the program for research purposes. As a result, the teachers had eight to ten more students per classroom than they had anticipated. Physically rearranging the rooms to accommodate the extra students and finding additional instructional materials were problems all the teachers had to resolve.

Elementary school problems

A second managerial problem teachers had to address was the lack of materials. Although the CBEP Curriculum Guide was ready in September, the materials that Bill ordered from Connors did not arrive until November 5th. These included dittos, notebooks, books, accompanying computer software, and metal cabinets to store the materials. The principal, for example, decided not to order supplementary reading and mathematics materials requested by the elementary school teachers in June, three months before the CBE Program was implemented. Additionally, Jennifer Mitchell arrived the first week of school to find that someone had entered her room over the summer and had taken about half of the materials she had purchased and developed

⁶ In the original research proposal, the LEP students were to have been randomly assigned to one of two groups: the CBE Program or the existing ESOL program. The pre/post-test scores of the two groups were to have been compared to evaluate the effectiveness of the CBE Program.

with her students over the past two years. The custodial staff confirmed that the principal had decided the teacher- and student-made materials were too "junkie looking" and had ordered the custodial staff to "clean out" Jennifer's room.⁷ Jennifer had to find and make materials, since many of the activities she planned to use the first month of school had been thrown out.

Two additional managerial problems were the arrival of new students throughout the year and the need to test and fill out appropriate forms for each student as they entered or exited the program. Most of the students arrived in September and early spring. In September there was little time for teaching. Jennifer had 35 students to individually test and place. Mindy about 25. By the end of the year Jennifer had tested and placed more than 60 students and had a class average of 28. Mindy averaged 18 and had tested and placed about 40. In September, Jennifer also spent time calming crying students who had never been separated from their parents and changing the clothes of students who wet their pants because they didn't know enough English to ask to go to the bathroom.

Bill decided to require that teachers administer the Briggance Test of Basic Skills to all new students in the CBE Program. This was in addition to the county required placement tests. The teachers had problems administering the Briggance. They had never seen the test, and had to be trained on its administration. Also, the Briggance is an individualized, competency-based test, that takes from two to three hours per student to administer. The teachers felt obligated to test the students, yet were unable to do so since they did not have enough time. At the elementary school, the principal

⁷ The principal denied having made such a request. In April, however, she asked the custodial staff to clean Jennifer's room and throw out teacher and student made materials during Easter break. This time the custodial staff alerted Jennifer, and she and I spent six hours after school the week before break taking materials to the her house.

asked the Chapter I teachers to help test. They tested four or five students but refused to test more because they too were busy with their own classes. Jennifer administered the few large-group tests to her students; however, most of the students never completed the battery of individual tests. There was not enough time or enough personnel to test each child. At the junior high, Rita selected a few Briggance sub-tests that most paralleled the objectives of the CBE Program. She reduced testing time to twenty minutes. At both schools the teachers felt frustrated that they were not able to completely test each child. The sense of frustration, of having too much to do and not enough time persisted the entire year.

Scheduling was also a problem. Early September, Jennifer learned that in addition to her 25 students she would have seven English-speaking Southeast Asian kindergarteners placed in her room from 1:45 until 2:45 p.m. each day. The regular kindergarten classes got out at 1:45 p.m. and the other kindergarten teachers refused to work beyond their contracted workday and care for the kindergarten Southeast Asian students who rode the 2:45 p.m. busses. The principal also decided that all the CBE Program students would receive Chapter I instruction every morning. The CBEP teachers had to test their students and group them for Chapter I instruction. Their own instructional activities had to be scheduled around the Chapter I classes. The following excerpt from an interview with Mindy shows her perception of the impact the additional class had on CBE Program implementation:

Chapter I is taking the kids two periods. At 9:30 a.m. half go. At 10:05 the last half goes. In effect, the morning is a lost cause because all the kids aren't here. It is not best for them. It's too confusing. They have trouble adapting to all the changes. The system breaks up the schedule. So, the schedule isn't intensive like it was originally planned, too many interruptions. I wanted them to be learning from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. I really feel sick. What could I have done.

The teachers also had to include gym, art, music, library, and lunch in their schedules. Additionally, the teachers had to set up the CBEP classrooms with the materials they had been able to find in the schools, make out lesson plans, organize their daily instructional schedules, fill out free lunch forms for the students, fill out information forms for each student, identify their students bus numbers, and supervise their students every afternoon for the first month to make sure they got on the right bus.

Junior high school problems

The junior high teachers faced similar problems. Ellen had 16 students in her self-contained, 6-8th grade class and was additionally assigned 16 seventh and eighth grade students who came to her for ESL, language arts and content area instruction one to two hours per day. Because all students had to be taught in the same classroom, one of her biggest problems was scheduling instruction so that her self-contained class would be doing individual or small group work while she instructed the other students.

Rita was assigned to the smallest classroom in the school and could barely fit her 24 seventh to ninth grade students in the room. She was unable to set up the classroom as outlined in the CBEP Curriculum Guide, and she had few options for instructional organization--large group lecture and some small group work. Rita, however, did have access to an additional, equally small room where she set up the computers. Although Rita did receive the supplemental materials she ordered the year before, no supplemental materials had been ordered for Ellen's class. Ellen did receive a set of the ESL textbooks and student workbooks; however, she had to borrow materials from Rita and other teachers and had to forage for books and materials in the book depository. Because of these and other problems, I agreed in

September to wait until program materials had arrived before I began my formal classroom observations in either school.

The "management-related-problems-teachers-face" domain grew during the study. Lack of appropriate materials, for example, was a problem throughout the year. This problem was related to program funding and district financial regulations affecting use of program funds. For example, the CBEP funds could be used only for county approved ESL texts, yet the school money allocations did not include content-area materials for the CBE Program. The CBE Program was caught in a 'financial no-man's land' which left the teachers with inadequate materials. Jennifer and Ellen used their own money to buy materials and books and spent time making their own materials. They also went to the county book depository after school to look for appropriate texts for their students. Jennifer did get language arts textbooks for her students. However, she never received mathematics texts and made most of her own mathematics activities and materials.

Interrupted instructional time caused by unplanned events during the year was a final problem the CBEP teachers faced. Announcements over the loudspeaker, interruptions by other adults, school-wide activities, student-related crises, teacher-related crises, administrative requests, district program documentation requirements, heating units breaking down, floors being waxed, classrooms needing to be rearranged after unannounced cleanings, missing materials, broken copy machines, teacher aide unplanned absences, and the enrollment of new students throughout the school year, were some of the unplanned events that interrupted classroom instructional time. All of these context generated problems affected how the teachers implemented the CBE Program.

Summary

The organizational context of school and district influenced the kinds of problems the CBEP teachers faced, the resources that were available to them, and the types of actions the teachers made as they attempted to educate the Southeast Asian refugees and prepare them to enter the regular academic program. In this chapter, I examined historical events that shaped the present Urbantown educational organization. I discussed the ways in which Peter's top-down approach to management influenced the present day social context in which the CBE Program was implemented. I also examined the ways in which the principals and Bill influenced the CBE Program as it was implemented in the schools. In Chapters VI and VII, I discuss the programs the teachers actually developed. I argue that despite the seeming arbitrariness of the four teachers' instructional programs, the programs developed naturally within the Urbanville organizational context.

CHAPTER VI RELEVANCE STRUCTURES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION: MINDY AND RITA

Introduction

In Chapter III, I discussed the fact that the four CBE Program teachers implemented four different programs. The programs they developed suggested the tacit structures of understanding that guided their perceptions and interpretations of classroom and program related events. The teachers articulated those perceptions and interpretations in interviews and in the classroom practices, conversations, and interactions I observed and documented. Although the four teachers developed different programs, there were similarities between Mindy and Rita's programs and between those developed by Jennifer and Ellen. In this chapter, I examine Mindy and Rita's programs. In Chapter VII, I discuss Jennifer and Ellen's programs. In each chapter, I demonstrate how the teachers' individual perceptions of the classroom world, influenced their selection of problems to which they attended, the actions they took to resolve those problems, and, ultimately, the programs they implemented. Whereever possible I use the teachers' own words.

I begin this chapter by defining relevance structures and discussing the conceptual framework I used to identify the four teachers' structures of relevance. Next, I briefly analyze the official CBE Program articulated by Bill and in the CBEP Curriculum Guide that the teachers developed with Connors. I identify the official program objectives and discuss the interpretation I had of the CBE Program when I entered the field. I include this section because my initial understandings guided my expectations and the initial questions I asked. When I

realized that what I expected was not the reality that I was observing in the four classrooms, I used my expectations as a guide to help me understand how the CBE Program was being implemented and why. Finally, I analyze Mindy and Rita's instructional programs. I provide examples of their instructional practices and their perceptions of those practices. I discuss the differences between their assertions about their programs and what I actually observed. I also discuss Mindy and Rita's perceptions of their students. I conclude with a discussion of their programs and the similarities between them.

Relevance Structures

Relevance structures comprise a network of associations that organize prior experiences and the meanings those experiences have for individuals. This network provides individuals with a cognitive framework they use to perceive and interpret daily life. Structures of relevance determine what objects or events come to individuals' attention, shape individuals' understandings of the setting, and help them define what they see as problematic within that setting. The resulting process of defining and understanding guides the decisions and actions individuals make. Relevance structures are not the words and actions recorded in a social scene, but they are articulated through those words and actions (Gubrium, 1988, p. 13-14); they are the meaning behind the form.

Identifying relevance structures is a complex process because they are tacit structures of understanding and are only suggested in the words and actions of those we study. As Webb (1978) noted, "The recording and intricate mathematical tabulation of human action are insufficient to totally explain human behavior. External indications are not enough. Sociology must look beyond them into the constituting process within the living consciousness of the subjects under

study" (p. 106). Thus, researchers must work from observed actions to uncover the interpretations and understandings that guided those actions.

In this study, I worked to identify the relevance structures guiding the classroom practices of four teachers. Additionally, I wanted to understand how those structures affected the program implementation process. The conceptual framework I used to analyze the data was derived from the writings of Alfred Schutz. Schutz (1967) postulated that all actions are "oriented toward a goal" (p. 237). To achieve identified goals, actors plan lines of action. Such plans are based on the actors' identification of problems that must be resolved to achieve the end in view. What the actors attend to and consider relevant in solving the problems at hand indicates the components of the relevance structure that are guiding their perceptions. These components include prior experience, typifications arising from that experience, habituated values and assumptions, and typical ways of thinking about similar situations. Such components generally operate at a prereflective, unquestioned level. They initially guide the actor's perceptions and understandings of a situation and act as a lens that focuses the actor's attention on the elements of the situation to be considered.

When the actor's existing relevance structures are inadequate for dealing with a situation, the actor may refer to his/her stock of knowledge at hand. Alfred Schutz likened an individual's stock of knowledge to a "vast storehouse" filled with information and understandings "of physical things and fellow creatures, of social collectives and of artifacts, including cultural objects" (1967, p. 81). When an individual's stock of knowledge is inadequate, he/she may recognize the inadequacy. The individual may choose to look for new information from other sources or use information derived from the situation to develop new understandings and new lines of action. If new knowledge is acquired, this

knowledge is added to components of the existing relevance structure. In future situations, this modified relevance structure prereflectively guides the actor's perceptions. Thus, actions and words observed in the present are the result of a long and complex process by which individuals give meaning to, build, and structure a coherent world.

I began my data analysis by identifying and categorizing the actions of individual teachers and the things to which they attended in their classrooms. I observed hundreds of classroom situations and interactions for each teacher. The initial analysis of those situations and interactions helped me to discover the teachers' aims and the problems they worked to resolve. Once I identified their goals and related problems, I then analyzed the decisions, plans, and actual actions the teachers took to achieve their goals. This phase of the analysis enabled me to understand the teachers' perceptions of classroom events and the components of each teacher's relevance structure that were guiding their classroom practices. I also examined what teachers did when their stock of knowledge did not give ready answers to the problems they faced. I paid particular attention to whether or not the teachers recognized the inadequacies and if so, what sources they drew upon to increase their stock of knowledge and solve the problems they identified.

The Official CBE Program

I have included this section because my initial understandings of the official CBE Program framed the questions that I asked, assumptions I made, and initial observations I recorded. They also provided a standard against which I compared the four teachers. Through my conversations with Bill, my interpretation of the official CBE Program Curriculum Guide, and my initial interactions with the teachers, I developed expectations about how the teachers would implement the CBE Program. Since the teachers were ostensibly working to implement the

same program, I expected to see similar practices in all four classrooms. I assumed that the four teachers shared my understandings about how they would implement the program. I also assumed that as a group the four teachers had similar perceptions and understandings.

The CBEP official goals and objectives discussed below are from the CBE Program Curriculum Guide that the teachers and Connors revised in July. The goals indicate the program that the teachers initially proposed. I also include descriptions of the program and statements that indicate Bill's perceptions of the CBE Program and how the teachers would implement it. These descriptions and perceptions are from interviews with Bill and official reports and proposals he wrote.

Instructional Objectives

The official goal of the CBE Program was "to mainstream the LEP students into the regular program as soon as possible. To achieve this goal, the new program [will] have specific objectives designed to help the LEP students master basic language skills and concepts sufficiently to give them a functional command of the English language at the level of the students with whom they will be mainstreamed" (p. 1). To meet this goal, six general instructional objectives were outlined in the CBEP Guide (p. 5).

- 1) Student will respond to verbal, functional directions and commands of the American English language. Gestures are included.
- 2) Student will learn and build basic skills of the American English language.

- 3) Student will learn and build basic skills of American English mathematics.¹
- 4) Student will apply basic skills of the American English language and mathematics to the environment (Social Sciences).
- 5) Student will progress at an individual rate of basic.
- 6) Student will master basic skills up to age/grade level of the standards to phase out of the CBE Program successfully.

Although science was not listed in the Guide, Bill encouraged teachers to help students develop science skills and understand basic scientific concepts.

The Incorporation of Culture

The incorporation of the students' cultural heritage into the curriculum was an important goal of the program. Culture sensitivity was an essential aspect of the Urbantown Bilingual and ESL programs. In the federal proposal written in May, Bill discussed the importance of culture in the Urbantown programs.

Appreciation of cultural heritage is rudimentary to the development of a positive self-concept. Instruction in this area will focus upon developing an appreciation for the Indochinese cultural heritages represented by the LEP students to be served. The American culture will also be studied. . . . Cultural enrichment is taught as an integral part of total school awareness as well as for positive self-concept building within the Urbantown Bilingual/ESL Program. LEP students should become aware that others within their own culture are achieving success.

¹ Mindy and Rita were the two teachers who were selected to work on the original draft of the CBE Curriculum Guide. They wrote this objective to emphasize the fact that the language used in mathematics textbooks is an important consideration in teaching language minority students. They felt the language used to express mathematics concepts was as important as the mathematics concepts themselves. They also wanted to emphasize that textbooks published in the United States use vocabulary and have explanations that are different from textbooks published, for example, in Great Britain. In July, all the teachers discussed this objective and felt that it communicated their concerns.

For the older students especially, the teachers were expected to include topics related to the students' countries of origin. Comparing their experiences with those they were having that in the United States enabled them to better understand the American culture and customs. At the Junior High School, the International Festival was one way the CBEP students' shared their cultural heritage with the faculty and the entire student body. Not only did students' share their cultural traditions. The teachers were expected to help students learn the social skills they would need to succeed in appropriate age/grade mainstream classrooms. These skills included such academic behaviors as asking questions of teachers, participating in class discussions, writing reports, and being able to work independently.

Program Documentation

In addition to the instructional goals, three program documentation goals were identified in the CBE Program Guide.

- 1) Student will take a pre-test when entering the CBE Program for diagnosis, placement, and documentation.
- 2) Student will have documented basic skills mastery when checking out of the CBE Program.
- 3) Parents will be made aware of students' progress.

Specific Competencies

Over fifty pages of the CBE Program Guide listed the specific competencies addressed in the materials purchased from Connors. The Guide included instructions for program management and organization of materials. Also included were lists of vocabulary and language arts competencies for grades 1, 2, and 3. Objectives for each grade level were identified, and elaborate charts were provided that cross-referenced all the skills by grade level with Connors' materials. The

charts were what Connors referred to as curriculum maps. Grades 4, 5, and 6 were left out of the Guide because he believed that the materials would be too advanced for the Southeast Asian students in the program. No information was given on how to introduce or teach new vocabulary and concepts or on how to organize instruction.

The Official CBE Program: Assumptions and Expectations

As discussed in Chapter V, Bill believed the teachers would adapt the materials purchased from Connors and integrate them with the instructional materials they were already using. Bill had other assumptions about the program and how it would be implemented. During an April interview, I asked him to describe the CBE Program. He said:

The CBE Program is a special alternative instructional program not normally found in bilingual education or ESL programs. The program provides intensive English language instruction in the content areas. [Students are in] a self-contained, non-graded classroom, an all day experience. Students are mainstreamed for electives. The program is designed to develop student's mastery of the four language skills including listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The program also introduces higher order skills and incorporates a micro-computer assisted instructional program thereby facilitating the academic growth of the LEP students participating in the program.

My own assumptions about the CBE Program were influenced by Bill's descriptions of the program, my interactions with the teachers in July, and the official objectives and goals as stated in the curriculum guide. These assumptions guided my perceptions and understandings when I entered the field in August. I expected that each teacher would teach content area subjects using ESL methodology and strategies. I assumed that the teachers would develop the four language skills in all the subject matter areas. I also expected that the program would include individualized instruction and that the computers would be an integral part of the instructional program. As I observed in the CBEP classrooms

and analyzed my initial observations I came to see that each teacher was implementing the program differently. My goal became one of understanding why.

When I first interviewed the teachers about their instructional goals, each referred to the general CBE Program goals and objectives. Their descriptions of their classroom programs sounded very much like the one Bill offered during my April interview. However, when I observed the teachers at work, I came to see that the teachers were guided by different perceptions of teaching and of the Southeast Asian students they taught. They identified different problems and solved seemingly similar problems in different ways. These problems, the teachers' understandings of them, and the actions the teachers took to resolve them resulted in the implementation of four different programs.

In the rest of this chapter, I discuss the programs developed by Mindy and Rita and the goals and problems each teacher identified. I also provide examples of actions they took to resolve everyday classroom problems. I examine the teachers' perceptions of their programs, and compare their perceptions and assertions with the actual classroom events I documented. At the end of this chapter I discuss the similarities between Mindy and Rita, for despite their differences, they shared many assumptions and developed remarkably similar programs.

Mindy

Mindy was assigned the fourth and fifth grade CBEP class. Her students, however, had such varying skill levels, that Mindy grouped them from second to fifth grade. To compensate for her students' lack of skill development, she often had to begin by teaching skills at the kindergarten level. In early September I observed that she primarily used paper and pencil activities that students completed at their seats. Her teaching was primarily large group with some small group

instruction. She confirmed my observations in a brief interview two weeks later. By mid-October she had three reading groups. She had divided the students into two mathematics groups: second and third graders and fourth and fifth graders. Mindy was not comfortable with my observing until after the materials from Connors arrived. She had not been able to individualize the laboratory and did not feel that I could get an accurate picture of the CBE Program until the materials were in place and she had set up the laboratory.

Initial Observations of Mindy's Instructional Program

In December, I conducted my first all-day formal observation of Mindy. I focused on documenting Mindy's actions and paid special attention to her interactions with students. I later transcribed my field notes into six pages of single-spaced protocols. I did not gather much data. Of the four and a half hours of available instructional time, Mindy was out of the classroom for over an hour. When she was in the room, Mindy's verbal interactions with the children were limited. During the first hour, for example, Mindy spoke approximately 150 words to the students, the first 35 of which were to reprimand several students who used the pencil sharpener without permission. Her instruction-related activities included the following.

9:15 a.m. Mindy walks to the blackboard and begins writing. Five minutes later she stops. "Class. Class." Mindy waits for the students to look at her. "These are your words for the week." Mindy reads the list of fifteen words once aloud, pointing to each word. Some of the children answer in unison and repeat each word. Others sit silently staring at Mindy. After they say the word, she uses it in a sentence. She points to the date written on the blackboard, "Write the date. Copy words three times." She walks back to her desk.

9:30 a.m. Mindy tells the first group of Chapter I students to line up quietly. She leaves the room with them and returns 17 minutes later. She stops just inside the doorway, looks around the room and says, "Kit, Chanoun, Mohm, be quiet." She returns to her desk where she looks through materials. The aide arrives. He walks to a corner of the room and stands quietly. Ten minutes later Mindy says, "Oh, you're here."

She looks through papers on her desk. She hands the aide some papers.
 "Would you please run these off."

10:00 a.m. [Mindy] tells the second group of Chapter I students to line up and tells them to go quietly to their class. They leave and walk unsupervised to class. Mindy sits at her desk and looks through a stack of dittos.

During the first 45 minutes, Mindy had almost no verbal interaction with her students. After she read the words, the students sat quietly at their desks and copied them three times. Mindy walked around the room to see if the students had their heading right. She went back to her desk and did not check to see if they were copying the words correctly. She did not check to see if they understood what the words meant. She did not provide them with any practice in using the new words. Once the students finished copying, they colored or sat quietly at their desks.

10:05 a.m. Mindy gets up and walks around the classroom looking at the students' papers. "You guys finished?" She walks around and hands out another ditto sheet and does not give the students any verbal instructions as to what they are to do or why she is giving them the sheet.

A student holds up the ditto sheet. "Missy, what this for?"

"Oh," says Mindy, "That's your season for the month."

[The handout was a blank calander for one month. At the top the students were to write December and fill in the number for the days. Around the calander were scenes of winter. Mindy used this ditto to introduce the concept of winter. She briefly talked about winter when she told the students how to fill out the calander.]

10:07 a.m. Mindy leaves the room again. The students ask each other what they are to do.

10:15 a.m. Mindy returns and sits at her desk doing paperwork. Students who have finished copying their words are working on the calander. Others are coloring. Some talk quietly with other students. Except for telling specific individuals to be quiet, Mindy does not talk with the students. [Two students ask Mindy for help with the calander. They had made a mistake. Mindy takes two minutes to explain to the entire class again what they were to do. She does not check to see if the rest of the students completing the calander correctly.]

10:54 a.m. The students have become noisy. "Just a minute. I am going to give you your writing. You have to work individually. I am going to work with students on vocabulary." Mindy walks around the room handing out ditto sheets which she does not explain. The students are to practice their alphabet. Mindy returns to her desk.

11:15 a.m. The students go to lunch.

11:45 a.m. The students return from lunch and sit down. Mindy erases the morning's words and writes more words on the board. "Class. Class. These are your next group of vocabulary words." She copies words from the CBE Program Guide on the board. Mindy reads the words once. As she reads them, she says a sentence that is supposed to illustrate the definition of the word. When she finishes, she says "Copy them three times. Don't forget the date." She does not point to the date this time.

Mindy returns to her desk. She calls two students up to read the previous day's vocabulary words to her. They cannot read the words. "Why haven't you learned your words? Go back to your seat and study."

Afternoon: A Summary. Mindy began the afternoon by writing a 10-problem set and a 15-problem set of addition problems on the board. She pointed to the 10-problem set. "Second and third grade, these are your problems. Copy and do them." Then, she pointed to the 15-problem set. "Fourth and fifth grade, these are your problems. Copy and do them. Don't forget to regroup." Later, she handed out two sets of dittos which she asked the students to complete with no benefit of instruction; handed out reading books to the four fifth graders and told them when they finished the dittos they could read. She also left the room and went to the office for almost 20 minutes.

Mindy's Instructional Program: A Discussion

During my first day of formal observation, I did not observe any direct instruction. Mindy had prepared materials for students. She expected them work alone and, on this day at least, without instruction. I could not find a curricular thread that connected one work-activity to the next, and from what I observed, Mindy did not integrate lessons across subjects.

Mindy copied the vocabulary words she wrote on the blackboard from the CBE Program Guide. The guide did not indicate how vocabulary should be taught; such decisions were up to the teacher. Mindy read a list of words aloud to students and said a sentence using each word. The students had never heard or seen the words before. During my observation, I did not observe Mindy using common techniques for ESL vocabulary instruction recommended in ESL literature (Celce-Murcia & Rosensweig, 1981; Seal, 1991). She did not check to see whether her students had understood what she had said. She did not set a

context for the words, nor did she provide objects or pictures to help the students associate the words with their meanings or provide students with an opportunity to practice saying the words before writing them.

Initially, I could identify no instructional aims or goals toward which Mindy was working. However, when I compared what Mindy was doing with the stated CBE Program objectives, it became clear that she was addressing one of the objectives; she was working to get students to follow oral and written directions and commands in English. Her most common requests of students included "copy this," "do this," "study," "write this," "stop talking," "listen," and "be quiet."

Mindy's Instructional Practices

Based on further observations and later interviews, I identified classroom practices Mindy used to organize and deliver her instructional program. I found that although Mindy talked about her program in terms similar to those used by the other teachers, Mindy did quite different things. By identifying the actions Mindy took when she used certain terms, I tentatively identified Mindy's understanding of those terms.

Grouping

Mindy worked with individual students. Individual instruction occurred when individual students came to her desk and read vocabulary words to her. If the student did not know how to pronounce a word, Mindy would say it correctly once and correct in writing any misspelled words. Sometimes she said, "You know. . ." and completed the sentence using the word. When she was finished working with the student, she told the him/her to "go study."

Large group instruction for Mindy meant giving the same ditto to the class or having students copy something from the board. Small group instruction meant giving the same ditto to a grade-level group. A small group lesson meant working

with students by grade level and helping them complete a series of five or six tests designed to document mastery of a concept. In January, I observed Mindy and identified a third type of instruction, the mini-lesson.

When they [the second and third graders] come back from Chapter I, I give them a mini lesson. Yesterday we did 1.WA.1 [one of the skills on the county's skill list], "going from pictures to words." Today we are doing 2.WA.1, "going from pictures to words.

For Mindy, a mini-lesson meant giving students one of a series of five or six basic skills mastery practice tests rather than all the tests at one time.

Mindy treated students in each grade-level group identically without concern for individual needs. During large or small group instruction, Mindy primarily interacted with the whole group. Mindy told the group what to do or ask a question to the group. The group answered in unison. Occasionally Mindy singled out students to answer a question. She expected students to complete the same assignment. There was no individualization of instruction and no use of learning centers as outlined in the CBEP Guide.

Discipline

Mindy did interact with individual students when she reprimanded or disciplined them. During a December observation, I realized that discipline was a primary concern for Mindy. I entered the classroom at 9:00 a.m. ten minutes after the bell. Mindy was not in the room. I said hello to the few students I knew. One came over to see what I was doing. Three students were at the pencil sharpener behind me. Mindy walked by the windows in the front wall of the classroom and looked in. As she entered the room, the following occurred.

The students rush to their desks. In a loud voice, Mindy asks, "Who was at the pencil sharpener? Don't sit down. Everyone who was over there go stand in a line."

The students get up and walk over to the pencil sharpener.

Mindy stands by them and waits a few seconds. "I saw more children over here. Am I going to have to punish the whole class?" She waits. No one else comes. "What is the pencil sharpener? Well!"

Five students stand staring at the floor. Two were not at the pencil sharpener. I am not sure why they came up. Three stand staring at the floor and tracing circles with their feet.

"Well?"

One girl says softly, "Off limits."

"That's right, off limits. The pencil sharpener is off limits. I don't like sneaks. I don't want to see you over here again. You ask me if you need to sharpen your pencil, and I will do it for you. Now go sit down." Once all the children are sitting down, Mindy goes to the door and slams it shut. She walks back over to her desk.

Approximately 50% of Mindy's verbal interactions to her students during the above observation were related to discipline. Having a disciplined class was one more goal I tentatively identified for Mindy. As discussed in Chapter V, one of the cultural differences between Indochinese and American students was that Indochinese students rely more on their teachers for instructional guidance. Bill, in his description of the mastery learning approach on which the CBE Program was based, stressed the importance of developing the students' initiative and self-management skills.

Understandings Guiding Mindy's Instructional Practices

In January, I conducted a two-hour formal interview with Mindy. She explained what she was doing, the materials she was using, and why. One problem Mindy identified was that her students were not learning as Mindy believed they should. In order for Mindy to plan instructional activities, she identified problems that kept her students from learning. She constructed explanations about why the students were having difficulty learning English. In the interview excerpted below, I identified what I called "Mindy's multiple meaning" theory. Mindy selected, developed, and used materials and activities to

compensate for her students difficulties in learning that her explanations pinpointed.

The first six weeks of class I had charts with materials. I also taught numbers, shapes, the alphabet, the months, sequencing and how to spell their names. The kids learned table, chair. All other countries have one meaning per word, where we may have 16 meanings. This really throws them. You shouldn't really teach comprehension until they have the other skills. Then you can build and increase difficulty.

[What do you mean by skills?]

"Sight vocabulary, listening, copying. Look, I'll show you." Mindy goes over to the board. She writes A-B-C and points to the dashes. "Each line represents a space. I tell the kids we leave this blank. [Mindy is referring to spaces between the words on a printed page.] The kids don't know what space is unless you tell them. They can't read if they don't understand the concept of space.

[How did you learn that they don't understand that spaces separate words?]

By watching the kids write in [their native languages]. They don't use spaces."

Mindy's charts were 8 x 11 pieces of white paper with the words chair or table written at the top. On each piece of paper were four pictures of chairs or tables that Mindy had cut out of magazines. Mindy taped the charts above the chalk board in the area where she had small group instruction. The charts stayed on the wall all year, but Mindy did not add other charts during the year.

It is incorrect that other languages have one meaning for each word. Nevertheless, used her multiple meaning theory to explain why her students found English so hard to learn. She wanted her students to understand that English had many meanings for one word so that they would not get so frustrated learning English. To teach her students the multiple meaning concept, Mindy showed them the charts with pictures of different kinds of chairs and tables. Having pictures of different chairs, however, does not demonstrate that the word chair has multiple meanings. On Mindy's charts, chair had only one meaning. To demonstrate her point, Mindy needed pictures of a chair, of someone chairing a meeting, and

perhaps of a department Chair. Telling students about a complex concept and trying to teach them that concept using inappropriate examples was something Mindy did throughout the year. For students who are just learning English or who are learning a concept for the first time, such strategies make learning difficult.

Finally, in the above portion of the interview, Mindy identified three skills she emphasized throughout the year: learning sight vocabulary, listening, and copying. Developing these three skills and teaching her students to follow directions characterized most of Mindy's instructional activities the entire year. She covered a lot of materials, constantly told her students what words meant, and told her students the answers for the practice tests she used to document the skills she was supposed to have taught.

Mindy's Assertions about her Instructional Program: A Discussion

During the January interview, I realized that what Mindy said she was doing may have been different from what she actually did. By observing Mindy teach and comparing what I observed and recorded in my field notes with her discussions of her teaching, I identified problems Mindy worked to resolve that affected her implementation of the CBE Program.

I asked Mindy to give me a tour of the room. She began by pointing to each of the five groups of tables the students sat at during the day. "That's the manipulatives center. Over there, the writing area. That's the audio visual area, and those two are for using kits and games. Over behind the cabinets is the computer area."

We began walking around the room. Mindy pointed to a circle on the wall over the chalkboard. The circle was divided into four sections; each was a different color. "Each color [represents] a skill area. The students have been assigned a color. When they look up here, they know what area they are to go to. [They go to an assigned area and work on an assigned skill.] When I change the wheel, they go to the next area."

The labels Mindy used for each group of tables were taken from a classroom map that the teachers had included in their original CBE Program Guide. Mindy

took me on a tour of her room in October. She described the table groupings and the wheel as she did in the above excerpt. In November, I observed her as she took Connors on a tour of the room. She told him the same thing. In April, I interviewed a teacher who had applied for a job in the ESL program at Urbantown Elementary. She told me that the principal took her to Mindy's room, and Mindy gave her a tour. She told the teacher the same thing.

Although Mindy described how the room ideally should have been organized, the actual way students interacted in her room was quite different. In reality, Mindy assigned the students to sit by grade-level at one of the groups of tables. Except for times that they worked with the aide or were in small group, students stayed in their assigned seats all day. I did not observe students move from area to area nor did I see Mindy use the wheel.

We continue the tour. "The lab is multisensory.² These are the games." Mindy points to the cubby holes along the front wall. Twelve of the 30 cubby holes are neatly stacked with boxes of materials and games. [The games] teach [such things as] consonants and vowels. I use manipulatives, too. I'll give them a sheet of paper and a magazine and tell them to go through and find things for a room in a house. I use pictures for the kids to learn terms. I use worksheets and workbooks, paper and pencil[s].

The kids need manipulatives. [If] they just hear the word . . . nothing registers. They have come in contact with so little. I have to make sure they get the relationship between the word and the concept. They need materials right here in front of them. Kim, for example, could spell and say the word grow, but he didn't know the concept. He couldn't put the concept to use. They have to learn to replace their own words with English words. They can call a word but they don't know the meaning. [Mindy uses the phrase "call a word" to mean read a word phonetically.]

² The 'lab' was what the CBE Program teachers called their classroom programs. The original CBEP proposal developed by the teachers had specified that the classrooms would be organized by learning centers and would be run like a multi-sensory language learning laboratory. Lab became the label used by the teachers, whether or not they were implementing a lab in their classrooms. The use of this term lead me to make several assumptions at the beginning of the study about the teachers and what they were doing in their classrooms. I discussed those assumptions in Chapter III.

We have differences in positional words too, sit versus set. Vowels like 'i' and 'e' are very difficult. They can't hear the difference. But, you know, our own kids wouldn't hear that at all either."

Mindy said the laboratory was "multisensory." When I was in the room, she used dittos and other pencil and paper activities most of the time. Pictures on the dittos were usually black and white line drawings. She occasionally allowed her students to use games, and then only with the aide.

In the above excerpt, I identified another of Mindy's explanations about second language acquisition. I called this Mindy's "word correspondence" theory. Mindy believed that the students learn English simply by substituting the appropriate English word for the words in their native languages. Mindy's belief is what Seal (1991) has termed the "common sense but naive view" of how languages are learned (p. 296). Mindy did not indicate in her interviews that she knew that many words and concepts in English did not have a direct translation in Southeast Asian languages and vice versa. She also did not seem to understand that the students had never learned many of the concepts for which she assumed they just needed to substitute labels. Such an understanding is reasonable for someone who does not speak a second language and who has no training in teaching English as a second language. Mindy's lack of awareness of how students learn a second language and her lack of knowledge about her students and their actual levels of conceptual development affected both the way she presented materials and her expectations for what the students should be able to do.

Problems Mindy Worked to Resolve

In December and January, I identified several problems Mindy worked to resolve. One was that she was not implementing the CBE Program as she believed the administration wanted. A second was that she did not believe she had

an organized instructional program. In the excerpts that follow, she identifies the problems and explains her concerns about them.

I am exhausted from managing all these kids.

[How many do you have now?]

Seventeen. Six have left since December. I need an aide to explain what I want them to do and to get the groups going. I need an aide to get materials ready and to work with the kids and reinforce what they do in small group and individual work. I can only work with one group at a time and the others can just review. Once I get all three groups started, I've lost 15 minutes of direct teaching time with the group I am working with. They can't work on just learned or new material by themselves. I really need to get audio visual stuff for the kids, but I can't teach and do that too. Something has to go.

I'm not using the computer. I had to leave my group instruction too many times to help the students. I had to turn on the equipment and help the kids get materials. There is nothing worse then getting down on a concept, being interrupted, and having to start all over again.

["Getting down on a concept" was a phrase Mindy used to indicate working hard to communicate a concept, being on the verge of getting the students to understand the concept, and then being interrupted, losing the train of thought, and having to start teaching the concept all over.]

When you run a technical lab you need backup and assistance. I would be embarrassed to tell them that was a problem.

[Who are you referring to?]

You know Bill, the principal and the people downtown.

You know what I am ticked off about? The administration made a decision and decided to go for it [to implement the program we proposed]. It's not fair to everyone involved. Don't say do this and start tomorrow. The problem is relating that concept to the administration. Right now, I have a mess here, but it will work. I don't say anything. I don't want Bill to tell them. I'm not sure he understands."

[What about the materials purchased from Connors?]

"Oh. They sent us the wrong tests for the skills sheets we purchased. The principal called Connors, but we haven't gotten the right tests yet. So I haven't used the materials. I can't test the kids. I don't like some of the concepts they use. For the letter B they have the picture of a Bee. It's too confusing for the kids."

Mindy's statement that in fact she was not using Connors' materials or the computers or implementing the laboratory confirmed my informal observations in the fall. Mindy identified some very real and important problems she had encountered trying implement the individualized lab component of the CBE Program: some of the materials purchased from Connors were poorly designed and confusing for students

who did not speak English. Additionally, there were no tests to document skills mastery by the students.

From Mindy's perspective, once the administration had made the decision that the CBE Program would be implemented, the teachers became responsible for developing and implementing it. But the administration had not given the teachers adequate support. Part of the problem, according to Mindy, was that the administration did not really understand all the problems inherent in implementing a technical laboratory the way they wanted.

In several January interviews, Mindy expressed her concerns about her lack of instructional organization. "I have a real mess here, but I know it can work." She also discussed the importance of order and organization to make sure I understood why she was so concerned. Portions of the interviews are combined below.

Oh, it's frustrating. I wish I could turn the clock back to September and start over with everything organized and learn gradually like learning should be. I feel so pressured. Setting up the lab and trying to teach and reach. That was the magic goal, the ideal. We didn't have a full-time aide. [One aide was shared by three teachers.] Materials weren't ready, they weren't run off before school started. I like to be on time with targets and goals. I will do my best and make another try next year. The kids don't have time [to master all the skills they need to know.]

If I had known ahead of time.³ Why should a simple thing like running off papers be so important. It's not for normal kids. These kids have to have it.

A good teacher should be organized. Details are very important. How you put a room together makes it functional. You know I am an interior decorator? A room has to have line and form. Anyway, you can't just have desks. The more orderly the room the more together the kids will be. The more orderly their minds will be. If they see clutter, they will think clutter.

³ Once Mindy organized her instructional program around the Basic Skills List (BSL), the primary materials she used were xeroxed copies of basic skills practice tests. She had the part-time aide spend his time running off copies of the tests. A lot of time was spent by the aide and Mindy's students correlating pages of individual tests. If Mindy had known in August she was going to use the BSL for her curriculum, the tests could have been run off before school started.

Not being organized was a primary concern for Mindy. Because she believed that an orderly environment meant an orderly mind, she worked to order the classroom and class activities.

Mindy's Instructional Program: Documenting Skills Mastery

By late January, Mindy had developed her instructional program. It was based on the basic skills list (BSL) that all elementary teachers were required to maintain for each student. The BSL provided Mindy with an organized framework for presenting instructional materials. She believed that students develop conceptual skills in steps and learn the information they hear, if the teacher presents materials in a sequential and orderly manner. In the following portions from January and March interviews, Mindy explains her perceptions of the program she developed and implemented.

I use the [BSL] as my foundation, because ultimately the kids will be penalized if they don't know the skills. If they can get the basic skills concepts, that's the key. It's based on national and county tests. If they get the basic skills they can go to any county in the state. The [students' new] teachers can look at the list in their folder and will know what the kids do and don't know.⁴ I use the BSL as a basic approach to help the kids every day. I go from kindergarten to grade five, not from grade two to five."

[What do you mean?]

"My kids are technically [assigned] to grades two to five. But their skills are low. I start with kindergarten skills sheets and go up to their grade."

[Can you give me an example?]

[Mindy shows me a group of practice skills tests. She points to the upper right corner of each test. On each test is written Communication Skill Test: Objective. After the objective, the grade level and number of the objective and a description of the skill are listed. This information that is also on the BSL.]

Look. K.WA.2. And here, 1.WA.2 And this one, 2.. WA.2. These skill tests build the same concept from kindergarten through fifth grade. These tests are working on the concept of long and short vowels.

⁴ During the study, 50% of the CBEP students left during the year. A 40-60% attrition rate during the year was average. Since the child's folders were transferred to the new schools, Mindy felt that the BSL would provide the new teachers with a quick check of skills the students knew.

The BSL correlates skills through grade level. It builds lessons from basic kindergarten to grade five. You have to show a child the whole gamut of skills. What does copy mean? or write? some kids don't know. From the beginning, I teach basic skills verbs the kids will need to complete the practice tests.

The BSL for Language Arts and the accompanying practice skills tests became the core of Mindy's curriculum. The list had been developed in the late 1970s as a guide to show Urbantown County teachers the minimum skills students needed to develop in grades K through 6. Skills list developers reviewed mathematics and language arts textbooks and identified the basics skills teachers needed to cover in each grade level. Then the developers cross-referenced the skills with county and state competency tests. The BSL was not an instructional program. Teachers were expected to integrate the identified skills within their overall program. Also, the BSL was unique to the county. While other teachers in other counties did have similar lists, the skills identified were not always the same.

Based on her perceptions of the BSL and its use, Mindy developed her instructional program. She also developed an elaborate explanation of what she was doing. She had every practice skills test xeroxed for every student in her class, and every day the students went through two to four tests for the skill being emphasized that day. By the end of the year each child had a folder with 250 to 300 basic skills tests for mathematics and language arts. Mindy carefully filled out the students' skills lists to document the dates skills were introduced and mastered. For Mindy, students had mastered the concept on the date the students filled out the practice skills tests. Mindy met CBE Program Objective #8, documentation of skills student mastered, better than any teacher in the CBE Program.

In late January, I observed the following lesson. The lesson illustrates how Mindy taught based using the practice tests for specific skills.

Mindy is working with the 4th and 5th graders on synonyms. She reviews the skills test the students did yesterday. They miss several words. "Fourth and fifth grade, you really have to buckle down. I want you to learn this. Pretend you're me and you're teaching yourself. . . . Take out 4.V3." The students take out the skills test. The test is Identifying Synonyms. Mindy gets a chair and sits in front of the children. They do the sample and items 1 and 2. "Now, I want to show you something. If I give you a gift, I give you a present. Yes? Now that's a thing. If you are here, you are present. Now that's a verb. Understand? Now the same words mean two different things. Not too hard."

"If we are doing mathematics, we are doing arithmetic. Listen again. Oh, let me show you." Mindy goes to the board. "See this word on your worksheet?" Mindy points to the word mathematics. "You know, $1+1$, 2×2 . That's math. That's where I get math from." Mindy writes mathematics on the board. She circles math. Now I am going to tell you another big word. [Mindy writes arithmetic on the board.] If we do arithmetic, we are doing math, the same thing. Understand? [Mindy sits down.] Okay, put this aside. Katrina, what is a synonym? [Katrina recites the definition from the skills test.]⁵

In the above excerpt, Mindy introduces the concept that a word can be both a verb and a noun. The students had not studied that concept before, and the concept was not related to the concept of synonyms that she was teaching. She also tells the students the origin of the word math. The lesson continues.

"All right, if we are going to collect something, we are going to gather it. Let me give you an example from the room. When Schram picks up crayons, she is collecting the crayons. So many words for one meaning. My goodness. Monthi, I am trying to teach you something. Listen!"

The students sit, staring at their papers.

"Unite. Let me show you something." Mindy puts two pens on the floor six inches apart. She brings the pens together side by side. "Unite. I united the pens. Join them." Mindy reads the rest of the words and their synonyms. She has gone over the items and the answers on the skill test 5V.3. She gives the students copies of the test. "Listen to me. When the dentist was here, we had some bad places on our teeth. Decay, rot. Okay? What do we need to do with 3.V3, 4V.3 and 5V.3?

In unison the students say, "Study."

"What?" says Mindy.

The students answer loudly, "STUDY."

⁵ Katrina is the only student in Mindy's class who is not from Southeast Asia. She is from Iceland.

"Okay. Put them together. Try to do what I did on the board. Match them." Mindy smiles at the students. "Okay, go to your seats and work."

Immediately after this lesson, Mindy worked with the second and third graders. She went over four basic skills tests with them using a similar approach and format. This procedure became the language arts lesson format that Mindy used the rest of the year. Mindy worked with the second and third graders or the fourth and fifth graders in what she called small group. The students sat in a semi-circle around Mindy. Each one had copies of the skills tests Mindy was covering that day. She began with the kindergarten test and read the items to the students. When she felt they did not know a word, she told them the definition. Often, as in the example for collect, she talked about an imaginary event to help the students learn the vocabulary.

Mindy's use of imaginary situations and references to abstract concepts often did not clarify the meaning of the words her students heard. As Mindy reviewed the tests, she often told students the answers to the test items. Then she would tell the them to go study which meant return to your table, sit down, and complete the tests. She expected the students to remember the information she told them. When they did not, she would tell them to study.

From January on, the skills tests were Mindy's curriculum. The emphasis on the tests is exemplified in this excerpt from a March observation.

I arrive at Mindy's class for a scheduled observation. "I haven't gotten much done. Why don't you come back later."

At 1:40 p.m., I go to Mindy's room. Mindy is at her desk organizing practice tests to prepare her students for the county tests. Eight third graders are working in coloring books, making paper boats and airplanes, and tracing pictures from the coloring books. The six second graders are doing the same thing. The fourth and fifth graders are collating and stapling the practice skills tests for Mindy. Everywhere I look I see stacks of xeroxed copies of practice tests. They cover the computer, overflow onto Mindy's desk, sit in piles on top of the cabinets which store the materials purchased from Connors. Foot deep piles of pages waiting to be collated cover the counter that runs along the wall behind Mindy's desk is also covered with .

"I am getting the students ready for spring testing," Mindy tells me. We sit and talk for an hour. Occasionally Mindy calls someone's name and tells them to be quiet.

In March and April, I observed Mindy three times when she was administering the state and county tests. On each occasion I documented that, she read the reading comprehension selections to her students and went over the answers for each selection. She told the students what words meant. Then, she had the students complete the tests. Since the tests were to have been read silently by the students and completed without any help from the teacher, Mindy's administration of the reading tests could be considered as invalidating their results. I did not observe her administering the mathematics tests.

Mindy's Perceptions of her Students

The teachers' perceptions of teaching and their interpretations of the instructional programs they implemented affected their instructional practices. So did their perceptions of their students. Practices included not only instruction but discipline and the kind of student social interaction the teachers allowed and encouraged. During the year, I documented many statements Mindy made about her students. I have combined statements from interviews and observations in December, January, March and May.

The kids are new to the county this year. They are very low. Some have never seen a pencil before. I try to get them to answer me in English so they will start communicating. That way, when I use the board, they will eke out what I am teaching them.

Mindy equated answering her in English with being able to read. She felt if students answered her in English, they then had the skills necessary to understand what she wrote on the board.⁶

⁶ Research by Stephen Krashen (1983) on the silent period and the need for teachers to provide students with comprehensible input and Jim Cummins' (1981) research on the differences between the development of interpersonal communication skills and

A group of boys are studying vocabulary cards. Mindy comes over to me. She points to the boys. "You know, this is the sneakiest group I have ever taught. I feel like I am on the streets of Vietnam or wherever. I've caught them gambling. If I'm not careful, they play card games with the vocabulary cards." Mindy goes over to help a student with a filmstrip. She comes back. I hate to mess with the earphones. The kids have lice.

Mindy's attribution of "sneakiest" refers to the fact that the students often did not follow the rules that she had set down. Interviews with and observations of Mindy did not indicate that she realized that the students might not understand what she wanted them to do.

Her criticism of gambling, for example, showed Mindy's lack of understanding the students' home cultures. Gambling was a common form of recreation.⁷ Playing cards for penny-ante stakes was a common leisure time activity. For the Southeast Asian students, cards meant games. In the CBE Program, teachers used card games to reinforce language skills and sight vocabulary. The boys in Mindy's class developed elaborate games using the phonics and sight word vocabulary cards. They also played for pennies. They were practicing the cultural behavior of males that they were learning from the adults in their community.

Mindy's did not understand the students behavior. She did not realize that she needed to teach the boys appropriate school behavior related to the card games. Her belief that gambling was inappropriate led to conflicts between Mindy and her students. Eventually, the card games were shelved, and she only allowed students

cognitive academic language skills underscore the limitations of Mindy's understanding about the task she had been assigned to do.

⁷ The information about gambling in Southeast Asian culture was obtained from junior high students in Ellen West's class. I verified the information with Jack Tyler, an anthropologist doing an ethnographic study of an urban Southeast Asian community.

to use them occasionally and with adult supervision. Even then, she constantly monitored the students to make sure they were not gambling.

Mindy's lack of awareness of the Southeast Asian culture also led to inaccurate explanations as to why her students had trouble with different lessons. Mindy told me in a January interview:

Learning body parts, for example, is a difficult skill. They have never bothered to talk about their bodies. A lot of kids have never understood how to take a bath. You have to remember, they are very paganistic. Look." Mindy goes to her desk and gets me a drawing one of the students did. "It is one of the Buddhist gods."

[The picture from a coloring book the students use at the Buddhist temple. The figure is a character from a Buddhist teaching story.]

Mindy's statements indicated several incorrect assumptions she had made about her students. Her students did bathe, and they did talk about their bodies. The Southeast Asian aide verified that they knew the names for the parts of their bodies in their native languages. He suggested that the classroom was not a place where such things were talked about, and that some students were embarrassed to talk about such topics with members of the opposite sex.

In March, I was scheduled to observe, but Mindy was not teaching. Some students were coloring. Some were collating and stapling basic skills practice tests. I sat and talked with Mindy at her desk. Mindy told me about her students.

"Shrack has emotional problems." She points at Mohm, "She has really gotten lazy this year. Chaneoun has a learning disability. Monrath can't retain anything. And they've all heard it. Some of it last year and this year.

[What do you mean?]

The concepts and skills I teach. The only fourth grader I am going to exit is Katrina (a girl from Iceland who came speaking some English and who was at grade-level academically in Iceland.) Her only problem was vocabulary. I would tell her the word and she would remember it in Scandinavian." Mindy continues around the room pointing at the children and telling me each child's successes or failures and who will pass or who will fail the skills tests in April. She talks in a normal voice. The children can hear every word she says.

Trang comes up to Mindy's desk. "Missy, Deuong broke my pencil." Mindy looks at the pencil, and with a thick Chinese accent says, "He who broke pencil lite with fingel. Go sit down." Mindy walks over to see how the fourth and fifth graders are doing. Later she calls Trang back, says she was just kidding, and gives him another pencil.

Mindy often spoke to her students in broken English with a thick Chinese accent. One expression she used was "Chop Chop." She would say this loudly and clap her hands whenever she wanted the children to hurry up.

The Administration's Support of Mindy

Mindy's perception of herself as being a good teacher was supported by the administration. The principal identified Mindy as a good teacher. Mindy kept her classroom neat and orderly. Her ability to maintain classroom discipline and the instructional documentation system she developed were praised by the administration. Since the principal made Mindy the CBEP Chair and assigned Mindy to develop the Innovative School Program portfolio, Mindy's saw herself as being a good teacher.

Mindy believed she was appointed Chair because of her expertise. She was in charge, and she expected the other teachers to follow her suggestions. This often created tension between Mindy and the other teachers who did not always do what Mindy suggested. Six times during the spring, for example, I documented problems between Mindy and the other two CBE Program teachers. For example, Mindy did not share materials with the other teachers. Consuelo and Mindy had adjoining rooms. Once the materials from Connors arrived, Mindy locked the door to her room and did not allow the teachers to use materials unless she personally checked them out. Four times during the year, Consuelo and Jennifer complained to the principal. In interviews, they reported that the principal supported Mindy. "Mindy doesn't want you interrupting her instruction during the day. She has that right." Mindy told the teachers they could come to her room and check out materials between 8:05 and 8:40 a.m.

In May, I talked with Jennifer and Consuelo about Connor's materials. Both found defective computer discs, incorrect test answer keys, and broken equipment. Jennifer expressed concern in May after finding a computer disc she had planned to use was defective. "We should have had a chance to go through the materials in November [to] find out what was defective. I found one disc [this week], Consuelo found two incorrect manuals. These are things we should have brought to Connor's attention long ago." I asked Jennifer why they had not reviewed the materials. "Mindy kept them under lock and key. She never had us review them."

Mindy's program recommendations were usually supported by the principal. She too, however, had no experience teaching language minority students and sometimes lacked the professional background to judge the worth of Mindy's suggestions. One example occurred in March. The principal decided to run off hundreds of basic skills practice tests for Jennifer and Consuelo to administer to their students. The principal made her decision because Mindy was using the tests to document program delivery. She did not include Jennifer and Consuelo in the discussion with Mindy.

Mindy's role in setting CBEP policy concerned Jennifer. In May Jennifer told me,

I have only seen Mindy teaching twice this year. Once they were talking about antonyms. They were just talking. The kids didn't have any paper or pencil. There was no participation on their part. Mindy said, "this is an antonym." She read a definition and gave examples. They all sat and listened. The other time, she sat with Monthi in the corner by the filing cabinet. I don't know what they were doing. I have walked by that room at least 25 times this year. Several times I went to get materials. The kids were sitting quietly. Several times she was working on the Innovative School program award"

At the end of the school year, the CBEP teachers met to discuss the program and plan for the next year. Jennifer, the kindergarten teacher, made the following suggestion.

Because the third, fourth, and fifth graders are also responsible for other subject areas we need to incorporate the social studies and science county objectives into the program as well. We want them to be in the

regular classes. We are in danger of socially promoting if we don't teach them the other areas they will be responsible for.

"No, that is not the way it is," said Mindy.

"We need to talk about this. . . . The children need to be exposed to at least the vocabulary in the content areas," said Jennifer.

"I've already got my curriculum for next year," Mindy replied.

"How did you do it. What is the basis [curriculum guides, materials, objectives]?" asked Jennifer.

Mindy refused to tell the teachers. After the meeting, I talked to Jennifer. She was concerned that Mindy had already decided how to organize the program without allowing for input from the other teachers. I asked Mindy about her curriculum. She said that she had already run off hundreds of skills tests. "I'm not going to waste all that paper and do something else."

Mindy's Program: A Summary

Mindy's statements about her activities and instructional program reflected two assumptions about teaching, learning, and her students: non-English speaking students substitute English labels for concepts and words they already know in their first language, and (b) an orderly environment equals an orderly mind. One way Mindy worked to achieve order was through the presentation of practice skills tests in sequence from grades K through 5 for each specific skill. Mindy also said that the presentation of the basic skills tests enabled the students to develop five years of conceptual knowledge about specific points of English grammar.

Mindy stated several times, "They've heard it they should have learned it." She documented in detail everything she presented to her students. This and other practices suggested that program documentation was an important goal for Mindy. Related to this were four problems to which Mindy attended: maintenance of classroom discipline, maintenance of a neat and orderly classroom, documentation of the skills tests she gave her students, and maintenance of an image of competence. Documenting her instructional activities was one way Mindy appeared

competent. A second way was by telling administrators and other teachers about a program that I never observed. Three times I observed Mindy as she took visitors on a tour of her room. Two times I interviewed people who were given a tour of the room. Each time she explained learning centers her students did not use, and described activities and practices she never employed.

Mindy's behavior and words indicated a lack of understanding about her students and their cultures. This lack, her understandings of teaching and learning in general, and her beliefs and teaching practices led to the development and implementation of a program that some experts might say was inappropriate for educating refugee students. However, Mindy did meet one of the instructional objectives for the CBE Program: teaching students to respond to functional commands of English. She also kept good records of her students' completion of basic skills mastery tests.

Rita

Rita was the teacher for the self-contained 7th to 9th grade at the junior high school. Although she had older students, her program was similar to Mindy's in many ways. In the section that follows, I describe and discuss Rita's program. At the end of the chapter I discuss the similarities between the programs the two teachers implemented.

Initial Observations of Rita's Instructional Program

August. At the beginning of the year, we attended a pre-service training program for all the Urbantown bilingual and ESL teachers. One of the presenters suggested that the teachers should label everything in the classroom in English. She then showed the teachers how they could develop English as a second language lessons using the objects in the classroom. Rita thought it was a great idea. She had the labels up for a week. She went over the vocabulary two or three

times. At the end of the week she took all the labels down because, she said, "I've gone over it, the students should have learned the vocabulary by now."

When I asked Rita what she did to teach the vocabulary, she said she went around the room, pointing to labels on the objects and saying, "Desk, This is a desk. Repeat." The students repeated her sentence in unison, "This is a desk." She had labeled about 30 items in the room. She repeated this procedure several times during the first two days the labels were up and never specifically referred to the words again. She provided no follow-up instruction or planned opportunities to practice using the words. At the end of the week, she took the labels down. I asked Rita if she let the students know they were expected to memorize the words. She said no that was not necessary because, "They know what they are supposed to do."

The second week of school Rita gave the students copies of the 53-page Urbantown County Student Handbook for secondary students. She reviewed everything in the handbook with the students. Since her students did not speak English, Rita asked the aide to translate for the students. Some students were attending school for the first time. Most of them were just beginning school in the United States and had no experience with the academic procedures and responsibilities detailed in the handbook. When I suggested that the students might be confused by all the new information, Rita said "It doesn't matter, they are responsible for knowing the rules. I have to cover them." By giving the students the information, she believed they would not have any excuses if they did not do what they were supposed to.

Rita presented the information in the Handbook to the students early in September. Every other student who registered during the year learned the information from the Southeast Asian aide. Rita got the students copies of the

handbook and other rules specific to the school. Then she had the aide go over the information with the students the first week they enrolled. When I talked to the aide, he was concerned that he was not giving the students all the information that they needed to know. Some of the procedures and concepts were new to the students, since procedures were not the same in Southeast Asian schools. Many of the words did not have equivalent translations in the students' native languages. The aide was not sure how much good he was doing considering his lack of experience in U.S. schools. The students' lack of academic experience and the fact that he had to tell them the information the first week they were in school also contributed to their confusion. He felt the students were overwhelmed and would not remember what he told them.

September. The second week of school most of the students did not speak any English. I tested them on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and most scores were in the teens and low twenties, well below 44, the baseline score for the 1st stanine listed in the manual. One of the first informal observations I made of Rita was in early September. I entered the room and noticed that the Pledge of Allegiance was on the board. I asked her if she were teaching the Pledge to her students. Rita responded.

I didn't want them to be like parrots, repeating something they didn't understand. I wrote the pledge out yesterday and went over it word by word. Then I had them memorize it. I had the aide work with them. He read the Pledge phrase by phrase and the students repeated it.

Later, I talked to the Southeast Asian aide. He said that the students had not understand the Pledge. He said that in the Pledge there were some words that did not easily translate into Southeast Asian languages. For most of the students the pledge was meaningless. For example, the Cambodians do not pledge allegiance to their national flag. The very idea struck the Cambodian students as peculiar.

Nevertheless, the aide explained the practice as best he could. He told students it was a ritual Americans do at the beginning of the school day, and, because they were in America, they needed to respect the custom.

Rita's Instructional Program: A Discussion

The activities I observed in August and September were typical of the activities Rita did with the students until Connors' materials arrived. Rita presented whatever information she wanted the students to know. She went over a selection word by word, telling the students the meaning of each word as she read it. She often asked the aide to translate what she said. Rita did not seem to be aware that the aide might not have the skills or understanding necessary to translate some of the concepts she was teaching. None of my interviews or observations indicated that Rita understood that some concepts and meanings might not exist in the Southeast Asian languages spoken by her students, or that they might not be easily translated into English. Her practices suggested that Rita equated teaching with presenting information and having the aide translate.

During the fall semester, I never saw Rita teach students directly. Rita handed out books, dittos, or other materials, and read whatever instructions accompanied the materials. All students did the same assignment. Most of the materials Rita used were paper and pencil. Rita did not individualize instruction. Sometimes she did not give the students any instruction as to what they were to do. In seven lessons I observed, she used a tape recorded lesson. She sat at her desk and let the tape play, stopping it occasionally to interject something she felt the students should know. Sometimes she provided students with the correct answers for the worksheets that accompanied the tapes. Sometimes, she collected the papers, corrected them, and went over the material the next day. Rita usually sat at her desk when students were

completing assignments. She did not monitor the students to make sure they were doing the task correctly.

When I compared what Rita was doing with the official CBEP objectives, she appeared to be working toward objectives 1, 2, and 3. I did not document individualization of instruction. I observed her teaching English skills and mathematics. Five occasions I documented what Rita called social studies lessons, for example, teaching the Pledge of Alligance, or talking about the elections or other current events. During social studies, the students and Rita sometimes completed a ditto related to topics such as holidays and occupations. I did not document that Rita integrated skills students were learning in English and mathematics to teach social studies or science. She did not have a specific curriculum she used for those areas. She did work to help the students become what she called "independent." Because she was consciously trying to teach the students behaviors that were common to American students, I identified teaching culture as one of Rita's goals.

The Organization of Rita's Instructional Program

By January, Rita had developed her instructional program. Everyday, she did similar activities: vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, reading, and mathematics. Occasionally, she conducted a social studies lesson. She occasionally put up bulletin boards about the elections, government, holidays, and other topics. She explained the bulletin board to the students and sometimes used dittos about the topic. Her teaching method seldom varied: She told the class about something and provided them with little prior instruction in the vocabulary or the concepts. Whenever she felt it was necessary, she said to the aide, "Tell them what I said."

First period, Rita had planning and her students had gym. Second period, her students returned from gym and immediately had their spelling test. Rita read the vocabulary words she had given the students the day before. The students wrote the

word, a definition of the word, and a sentence using the word. Rita did her own work while her students completed their spelling test. Third period, Rita went over the new vocabulary words that she tested the students on the next day. She read the words from whatever list she was using, wrote a definitions for the words on the board, and wrote sentences using the words. Students distributed dictionaries, and Rita let them look up the word and copy the definitions in the dictionary as well as her definition. Sometimes she told them to "use the definition I give you." The students spent 30 to 45 minutes copying words, looking up definitions and writing sentences. They memorized those words and definitions that night. The next morning they were tested. Fourth period was split, half an hour before lunch and a half an hour afterwards. Rita did various language arts activities the first half an hour. These included grammar from the English for a Changing World series, reading from Connors materials, and a ditto with a crossword puzzle or language arts activity. After lunch students had mathematics and pronunciation activities. If there had not been enough time in the morning, Rita might use Connors' materials in the afternoon.

Rita's Instructional Practices

Rita covered spelling, vocabulary, pronunciation, mathematics and reading everyday. Somedays she also had a social studies lesson or activity. No matter what Rita was teaching, her instructional practice was the same. She presented, or went through whatever materials she was using with little concern as to whether or not the students had learned or could use the information. During the year, Rita covered a lot of materials. Her students completed several levels in the ESL textbook, finished their mathematics textbooks, finished the materials purchased from Connors, obtained 80% mastery on the computer materials, and covered two thousand or more vocabulary words. On the surface, it looked as though she had

taught a lot, and Bill believed that Rita was the only teacher who had implemented the program properly. In fact, in April, he arranged for Rita to give the elementary school teachers a workshop on how the CBE Program should have been set up. In the excerpts that follow, I examine Rita's actual instructional practices. I discuss the discrepancy between what she did and her perceptions of what she thought she was doing. The reasons for this discrepancy and its implications for program implementation are discussed at the end of the chapter.

Grouping

By January, Rita had divided the students into two groups according to English language ability. There were eight in the high group and twelve in the low group. For mathematics, Rita had three groups. They used the fifth, sixth, and seventh grade mathematics books. Rita arranged the desks so that an aisle separated the two groups. She almost always taught using the blackboard in front of the high group. In the back of the room was a table. The newest students sat there and worked with the aide. After January, new students who did not speak English did not receive instruction from Rita. They received instruction by working with the aide. When the aide was not there, they sat. The following excerpts taken from observations in February illustrates this point. Two students had enrolled the last week in January. In the first excerpt, the class was working on a mathematics assignment when I arrived. In the second, the class was doing a vocabulary lesson.

1) Two students, new to the program, sit in the back of the room. Unable to speak any English, they sit, staring at the mathematics books Rita has given them. They don't do any work the entire afternoon. The girl sits quietly. The boy occasionally talks to another student in his native language. Mostly, he plays with his pencil.

2) The aide is working with the two new students. He is giving them a spelling test. They are using a primary picture vocabulary book. The books are for use in a bilingual program. The words are written in English and Khmer or Vietnamese. The aide works with the Cambodian student, in Khmer, and explains new vocabulary and concepts. Then he works with the

Vietnamese student, in Vietnamese, and goes over vocabulary and concepts. The week before the aide told me that the girl had never been in school and was illiterate in her own language. [The aide is fluent in Khmer, Vietnamese, French, and English.]

Spelling

Rita's method for presenting the spelling words was characterized by the interjection of unrelated topics or information. She often interrupted the lesson or test and began a conversation with me or another adult that came into the room. In the first instance, Rita talked about a topic that was interesting to her but unrelated to giving a spelling test. On these occasions, it appeared that students often had no idea what she was saying or why she said what she did. In the second instance, Rita focused on the adult she was talking to and completely ignored the students. Once the conversation ended, Rita picked up where she had left off on the test and continued as though there had been no interruption. The following excerpt from a February observation illustrates Rita's practices.

Are we ready?

[Rita reads several words twice. She does not indicate which number she is on; she just begins.] Listen to your sounds. Give, Has that got a long or a short vowel? Is it give [Rita pronounces the ive as in five] or short? I know it has an 'e.' [Rita is referring to the final e long vowel rule the students have studied.] This is an exception.

[Rita comes over to talk to me.] Miss Campbell [she points to the new students in the back of the room], those two students are on a different program. . . . The aide is giving them words out of this book. [Rita gives me a copy of the bilingual spelling books the students are using. She explains the books to me. The students sit while she talks to me.]

Rita looks back at her paper, "Glad, gl, gl. Listen to your sounds. Number six is glasses. [This is the first time Rita has indicated the number of the spelling word.] Now glasses can be these," Rita points to her glasses, "Or my mother has ten glasses in her cabinet."

"Go. What part of speech is go?"

[Students call out, "Adverb, noun, verb, thing."]

Rita says, "It's a verb. Just because we were talking about adverbs yesterday, doesn't mean every word is an adverb. Go shopping. What's the sh sound?" [Rita asks a question about a sound and a word that is not on the test.]

"Golf. Golf. Do you play golf? What's the sound of g?"

[One student calls out, "Guh." One says, "F." One says, "Fuh."]

Rita doesn't respond to their answers, but continues the test.

"Goodness. Goodness."

Rita looks at the board, "Oh." Rita walks over to the board. She stops by Sama's desk and looks at Sama's paper. "Very good. Graduate. Graduate."

Rita turns to the board. She stops giving the test and writes the date in numbers and then writes the words 'all present.' She draws a happy face by the date. There is a chart on the board with the dates for the marking period. Each week there are no absences the students get a treat. Rita turns back toward the class, looks at her paper and continues with the test . . .

"Great. Oh [she thinks for a moment] you say, Oh great! That means very good. He was a great man. That means very important. Jesus Christ was a great man. Mohammed was a great man. Buddha was a great man."

"Grill." Rita stops to draw a barbeque grill on the board. "You know what a grill is?" The students indicate no, they don't know. She draws some squiggly lines. "This is fire. You cook your food. "Is that 20?" A student says, "Yes." Rita sits down.

Rita did not repeat any of the spelling words. She worked on her weekly lesson plans. The students worked on their own for 50 minutes. Rita did not check to see whether or not the students got all the words. They asked each other for the words they missed. When all the papers were turned in, Rita began the next group lesson.

During one observation in February, Rita showed me several spelling tests. "Look at what kinds of sentences they write. The first of the year they couldn't write anything." In March, Rita made a similar observation. I pointed out to her that many of the students were writing the same thing. They were memorizing the definition she had given them the day before and wrote the sentence she had said during the spelling test or the sentence she had written on the board the day before. Rita responded, "That doesn't matter. They are learning the words." Rita rarely checked to see if the students were doing their work correctly until after they had turned in their work. Pupils worked on their own or asked each other for help. Occasionally they came up to her desk for help.

Sometimes the students did not understand Rita and were not able to write all the words. If Rita were not available, it was up to them to get the words as best they could. The following excerpt from an April observation illustrates this point. Rita read the 12 words in about three minutes. While she was giving the words to the students, she was also conversing with the aide about the work he was to do with three new students. As soon as she read the words, she went to the computer laboratory to look for some books for the aide to use. She was gone five minutes. I recorded the following student/student interactions.

The nine students in the high group are working. The 12 students in the low group . . . did not hear all the spelling words. There was no opportunity to ask Rita to repeat the words. Prom asks Chan for a word. He writes the word on his paper. Mohm is looking on Schrach's paper. She sees me watching and looks away, then she looks back trying to decipher what Schrach has written. Schrach is looking at Vuthi's paper. Channeoun is looking at Kong's paper. Kong asks Channeoun for a word. She shakes her head indicating she does not know. They both look at Channeoun's paper. They are discussing what Channeoun has written in order to figure out what the word should be.

Rita walks back in the room and lectures the students about being responsible for their books. She talks to the aide and leaves the room to go to guidance. The students still have not been able to ask Rita to go over the words they missed. There is no opportunity to do so.

Rita left the room two more times to do errands in the building. When she did return, she sat at her desk and worked on her lesson plans. The students worked. They had no interaction with Rita.

Rita often sat at her desk and worked while the students completed their spelling tests or other assignments. She collated papers, filled out personal forms, graded papers, or wrote lesson plans. Sometimes she went to the guidance office or ran an errand in the school. She rarely walked around the room to monitor student progress. If students did not come to Rita's desk for help, they had no one-on-one verbal contact with her. Sometimes, after an individual student came up for help, Rita decided that she needed to explain the concept to all the students. At such

times, she would go to the board, ask the students to pay attention to her, and she teach a two to five minute lesson.

Vocabulary instruction

Rita used activities and materials she had from the year before to teach vocabulary. She had the ESL textbook English for a Changing World. She also found a set of dittoed word lists which she used for vocabulary development. When Connors' materials arrived in November, she incorporated them into her vocabulary instruction. Rita presented thousands of vocabulary words during the year. Vocabulary was an important part of her program. In the following excerpt from an April interview she discusses her approach to teaching vocabulary.

I work a lot on vocabulary development. They have to do their share. They've had the basic 250 words from the Briggance Comprehensive Inventory of Basic Skills. This week I am focusing on the words from English For a Changing World, Book 2. There are 100 words, so I am giving them 20 words per day. Most of the words are review. On Monday I give them all 100 words for the week. That way, if they are sick, they can study at home. At the beginning I used pictures and words. Now I am using abstract words only.

[What do you mean by abstract?]

I don't teach with pictures any more. I am also using the vocabulary words from the basic skills mastery materials we bought from Connors. They correspond with the materials which I use almost every day. We got too far ahead with the vocabulary for Connors materials, so I am using the words from English For a Changing World: Book 2 until our mastery materials catch up with the vocabulary we have already learned.

Glossaries in the textbooks were only one source of words Rita used to teach vocabulary. Another was a set of ditto masters that included alphabetical lists of approximately two thousand vocabulary words. The materials were developed for English speaking students. Dittos such as crossword puzzles, fill-in the blank exercises, and similar activities accompanied the word lists. The lists began with the "a" words and worked through to the "z" words. Other than the fact that the words began with the same letter, the words on the lists were unrelated.

The primary method Rita used to teach vocabulary was memorization. Every Monday she gave her students a list with up to 100 words for the week. Each day they went go over 10 to 20 words. She said each word and then wrote definitions and sentences using the words on the board. The students copied the words and sentences and memorized them. Much like Mindy, Rita rarely contextualized the words, provided her students with direct instruction, or used objects or pictures to help her students connect the concepts with the words she asked them to learn. She expected her students to memorize vocabulary lists from textbooks before they studied the lessons in the books. She did not routinely include activities that would give them an opportunity to practice using the new words.

Listening and pronunciation

To teach listening comprehension and pronunciation, Rita used several commercial tape and ditto sets developed in the mid and late 1970s. The sets had been developed to teach remedial reading to English speaking students. Rita liked the tapes and used them extensively to teach listening skills, and pronunciation. She also used the tapes that accompanied the ESL textbook. Everyday, Rita had the students do some work using the tapes. She believed that if the students listened to tapes they could not understand that they would learn the sounds of English, and they would learn how to pronounce English correctly.

In January, I conducted my first formal observation of one of Rita's pronunciation lessons. My final protocol was one single-spaced typed page plus two ditto sheets. I observed for one hour, the last period of the day. The students had just finished mathematics and were getting ready to do a tape for listening and pronunciation. I asked Rita what materials she was using. She showed me two dittos and accompanying tapes. One ditto had 50 words and no pictures for cues. It was a worksheet to practice recognizing different spellings for the sh sound.

Rita had two students help distribute two worksheets to the class. She stood in front of the class, silently reading one of the worksheets. She did not tell the students which sheet she was looking at. After she read the worksheet, she held it up at an angle so that only half the class could see. Talking to the worksheet, not to the class, she pointed to a word and said, "Musician, someone who plays an instrument." That was the only word Rita defined for the students who had not studied nor seen the words before. The second worksheet was a practice worksheet for vowel letter combinations that were spelled differently but had the same sounds. Rita did not define the words on the second sheet. Many of these words were also new to the students. The excerpt below is from the lesson that followed.

Rita puts a cassette in the recorder and tells the students to listen. "This lesson is for pronunciation." She sits at her desk and begins the tape with no further instructions.

The speaker on the tape explains the pronunciation of "ti," that it sounds like "sh" as in nation. Then the speaker says, "What is the sound of ti in the first word?"

Tran is talking to Schram. I think he is asking what they are supposed to do. He is talking in his native language, so I don't understand.

Rita looks up. "Tran, you have the worst pronunciation of anyone in this classroom. I am trying to help you." Tran stops talking and looks at his paper.

The speaker on the tape reads the ten words in the first section. Rita does not go over the answers. The tape continues. Rita does not review or define any of these words. The speaker reads the 12 words in section two. She stops the tape. "As long as we're working with these words, we may as well read them and get familiar with them." Rita randomly asks the students to pronounce the words. Only two can pronounce their word. Rita pronounces the word correctly after each student makes a mistake.

Rita turns the tape on. The speaker on the tape reads the first sentence in section three, "The faculty gave a blank for the graduates."

The correct word is "reception." The students are to silently read three words they have not studied and fill in the blank in a sentence they can not read and do not understand when it is read to them. Rita turns off the tape. "Remember, you're looking for the sh sound." Rita turns the tape back on and lets it play. She begins talking to me in a normal voice, making it hard for the students near her desk to hear the tape.

"You know Ms. Campbell, all these lessons help. They don't know these words, but as long as they get the sounds."

The tape ends. Rita turns it over. "Look at your next worksheet. Underline the letters. Listen to the tape."

She begins the tape. Section one plays. The speaker says 23 words with *au* or *aw* in them. There is one tiny picture of a calendar with August for the "*au*" words and a bear's paw, which looks like a foot, for the "*aw*" words. Rita expects the students to follow along without any help from her and underline the '*au*' or '*aw*' in each word.

After the first 23 words, Rita stops the tape. "What have we found out?" Without waiting for a response she says, "We have found out that '*au*' and '*aw*' are the same sound." Rita stands silently looking at the worksheet.

"Autumn," she says, "Say it. The word for Fall."

Three students try to say autumn.

"What months?"

Several children recognize the word "months" and call out different months. Someone says, "Fall."

"No. No. September, October, November. All right, go ahead and finish it." Rita turns the tape on again. Once again, she starts talking to me in a normal voice making it hard for the students nearest her to hear the tape.

The tape ends. Rita tell the students to look at the last group of words which shows two different ways to pronounce *ow* as in '*owl*' and '*crow*.' "Are they long or short?" One student answers. "The only way to know is to try both and decide which one makes sense." Rita turns the tape on again. As the tape ends, the afternoon announcements come over the loudspeaker. The students get ready to go.

Rita's approach to teaching pronunciation indicated several assumptions she had about how students learn a second language and how language should be taught. "Hearing equals understanding" and "hearing equals speaking" were two such assumptions. For Rita, a pronunciation exercise meant having the students try to silently read words they had never studied and might not be able to read while playing a tape of words the students had never before heard and often could not understand. She believed that the students, by listening to tapes, would learn the sounds and improve their pronunciation. In the lessons I observed, she did not give students the opportunity to speak or practice the sounds they were hearing. Rita called her method "immersionizing."

Rita was aware that her students could not understand the tapes they were hearing. Rita did not provide vocabulary instruction before she played the tape. She

did not set the context for the lesson. She did not monitor students' individual work to make sure they were completing the worksheet correctly. She often did not correct the worksheet with the students and did not check for comprehension of the work she gave the students. Rita did not give her students direct instruction to develop their listening skills. I did not observe her provide students with direct instruction in pronunciation. She expected them to decipher the sounds they were hearing and correct their pronunciation themselves. I did not document that Rita realized that some sounds in English do not occur in various Southeast Asian languages, and that direct instruction and practice could facilitate the students learning to hear and pronounce those sounds.

Two weeks later, I observed another pronunciation lesson. Rita used the same practices discussed above. I documented a third assumption Rita had about language learning and about teaching in general: "presentation equals knowing." Rita indicated in interviews that students should have learned what she presented or said to them. For example, in one observation she told students that the only way to know if a vowel is short or long is to say the word and then decide. Because she had told them a strategy, she expected the students to be able to do it. I did not document that Rita realized that LEP students need to have a preview, direct instruction, practice, and review of new vocabulary and concepts that will be covered in a lesson (Chamot & O'Malley, 1992). Rita usually just gave the students the materials, told them a definition for whatever words she thought they might not know, and presented the lesson. I found little order or continuity in what she did. There was no integration concepts or skills across subject areas.

Rita did not always preview the tapes she used in class. She played whatever tape accompanied the materials she was using and took notes as the students were

listening to the tape. The following excerpts illustrate this practice and Rita's assumption that presentation equals knowing.

The class is reviewing short and long vowel sounds for a test. Rita is sitting at her desk. She is holding a handout. The students have a copy. Rita reads the first sentence. She calls on Samba. "Remember what I told you, if it's ee, it's long. Get, it's short. Samba, what would the 'e' in stem be?" Samba says, "Short." Rita nods her head, "Short is right. Suppose I said." Rita looks up and see several students talking. "Please listen carefully. It's important that you know the difference when you speak, so please listen."

Rita continues. She reads the sentence and then asks students to tell if the "e" sound is short or long. Seven of twelve students identify the sound wrong. Each time Rita says, "No, listen, listen. I want you to be sure and understand the difference." Then, she says the word again. Without checking for comprehension, she goes to the next word and the next student.

Rita sits silently looking at several ditto sheets. I look around the room. Tran is slouched in his seat. He sits staring at the bulletin board behind Rita's desk. His legs swing open and shut, open and shut. Duong and Chanty are playing. Doung points to his nose and Chanty hits it lightly. Ramana is hitting a piece of chalk with his pencil. He turns around and talks to Heav, a new student. Phoung, a new girl from Vietnam is sitting alone at the back table. She has been sitting, staring, listening, not writing. She does not speak any English. She puts her head down, presses her hand to her temple and rubs her eyes. She looks around and stares at her paper. Several other students sit staring at their papers.

"Okay, let's start. Now she'll say it once, then you'll write it. Listen. Okay, write." Rita turns on the tape. The speaker says a phrase. Rita turns the tape off and repeats the phrase. [Rita moves the recorder so that she can sit down.] She returns to her seat.

She turns the tape on. The speaker says a phrase. Rita turns the tape off. She does not repeat the phrase. She turns the tape on and lets it continue running for several phrases. . . . She takes notes as the tape is running. She turns the tape off.

"Now I am going to do something different. I'm going to ask you some questions to see how much you understood about what you heard and read. [The tape accompanied a ditto. At the top of the ditto was the story the students wrote for dictation. Several students answer the questions Rita asks. They read the ditto.]

"Well, you did very well. Now I am going to give you another tape." Rita goes to the cabinet and looks at several tapes. She walks over to the recorder and puts the tape in. "Listen." The tape starts. "Oh, that's too easy."

Rita stops the tape and turns it over. She rewinds the tape. As it rewinds, she looks at the label on the tape. "Level one, level one," she says to herself. Then to the class, "This should be easy."

Rita turns the tape on. The first sentence is "Dr. Laura Crown is a dentist." Rita stops the tape and says the sentence twice. Most of the students are not writing. "All right, I know a proper name is hard for you. Let me write it on the board for you." She writes Dr. Laura Crown.

She rewinds the tape and plays the sentence again. "You've got to get your ear accustomed to English."

Rita lets the tape continue. She walks over to me. "Ms. Campbell. This is what I call immersionizing. It makes them aware of the sounds."

[I look at the students. Phoung, the new girl is sleeping. Po the new Cambodian boy is doodling. The high group is trying to follow the dictation. No one in the low group is writing.]

Rita picks up some papers and starts talking to the class. The dictation tape has not ended and keeps playing. "I am going to give you a map of the sky for Friday. These are some of the things we will see at the museum."

Rita hands out the maps. Several students ask Rita to replay the part of the tape they couldn't hear. I comment to Rita one of the sentences has a play on words and would be hard for an English speaker. Rita says, "It's good for their ears."

The tape ends and Rita rewinds it. She looks at a few of the students papers. They have made mistakes. Rita shakes her head. "You know, this tape isn't good because it uses contractions and drops letters. It isn't good for the kids; it confuses them. Yet this is the new tape to the English for a Changing World Series that we have to use." [Rita was writing the sentences as the tape was playing. After class I asked her if she had heard the tape before she used it. She said no. She played it because it accompanied the lesson in the textbook.]

Rita gives her paper to one of the students and asks her to write the correct sentences on the board. While the student is copying the sentences, Rita sits down. She props her elbow on the desk and holds her map at an angle. She studies the map and says, "If you look at the lower left you will see the constellation Orion." She holds up the map and points in the general area. "Say that, Orion."

The students say "Orion." None of the students in the low group can see the paper Rita is holding.

Rita goes over the names of the various constellations, and points to each one. She tells the students to put their papers away. Then she turn to me.

"I think they are doing very well, don't you. Their comprehension is so much better. They can answer questions." Rita remembers she has to give Po a book. She gets the book. Sits down and talks to him for a few minutes. She tells him the book is for him to use. He can take it home and study it. He will have to bring it back in May. After she has finished talking, she asks another student to translate. Po doesn't speak any English. The book is in English.

At the end of the above lesson, Rita discussed a worksheet that was supposed to prepare students for a visit to the local planetarium. Rita told them that the handout was to help them understand what they would see on their field trip. She also told them that the ditto was a map of the sky. She pointed out various constellations, without teaching the students what constellations were. She used science-related vocabulary her students had never studied or heard. Rita felt she had prepared her students for the field trip.

Mathematics instruction

I asked Rita to explain what she did to teach mathematics. She said that she divided the class into three levels. However, "I teach the same concept to all the students. Then the students work in three different mathematics books." The following lesson illustrates Rita's method. Rita was doing a unit on geometry concepts that was tested on the state skills test.

"What have we been studying for the last few days?" Without waiting for an answer, Rita says, "Geometry. Who can tell me what geometry is?" Several boys are talking. Rita says, "Boys, did you understand?" The boys stop talking. Rita again asks, "Who can tell me what geometry is?"

Someone says, "Shapes."

Rita says, "No, not shapes."

Monroth says, "Space."

Rita says, "No, not space. This is a very important word. The study of geometry is the study of space, but of space and of things in space, space and figures in space. [Rita is reading a definition from one of the textbooks. Two thirds of the students have different books.] Who can tell me about space?" Manroth says, "Mars?"

"No, that's outer space. I mean space right here."

Heav says, "The walls?"

"That's very good. The walls divide our space. Now tell me some things that take up space."

Proung says, "Desk, chair, plants, people."

Monroth says, "Chair?"

"Have you ever heard someone say, I don't have space? Everything is closed in on them. They want a little area where they can be by themselves. What is space?"

Monroth says, "Stars?"

"No, no, no. What do you feel in this room. What do you fell in here?" Monroth says, "Air?"

Rita responds, "So that's what the study of geometry is, the study of what's in space. Not outer space, but in here."

Rita turns to the board, and draws two dots with a line in between:

_____ . "What's this?"

Prath says, "A line segment."

"Good. Who would like to read me the definition, Noum."

Noum reads the definition of a line segment from the handout the students are working from. There is a line segment drawn on the paper.

"All right, let's explain. [Rita reads from the handout.] A line segment consists of points and all points in it. That's the first thing we have to know about geometry. There are lines in space, and we can measure them. Look around the lines in the room. [Several students point out the edge of the desk. One walks over to the point there the walls come together.] "Very good."

Rita draws a line on the board. "This is a line in space. You know, if you learn this, you won't have any trouble with geometry. Would you read for me Chansothy."

Rita realizes that Chansothy doesn't have a handout. She realizes that more than half of the student do not have the handout either. She starts asking each student if they have a handout. She walks over to Po who doesn't speak any English. "Do you have it?" She turns to Tran, "Ask him if he has it." Po says no. Rita tells Tran to share his paper with Po. Finally, every student is paired with someone who had a handout. Rita continues where she left off.

"You know this real well. I am going to give you a quiz." Rita looks at her paper. "Okay, polygon." Rita reads the definition. "Polygon, a union of line segments." She draws a figure on the board. "Is this a polygon?"

Three students say yes.

Rita asks the students, "Can I have any number of lines? I think its in your book Vuthy. [Only six of the 24 students have that book. The others are in the fifth and sixth grade mathematics books.]

Vuthy says, "Page 125."

"Yeah," Rita picks up the book. "I don't see it. Oh page 124 gives another definition. A closed curve. Your pencil will return to the starting point. Watch me draw this." Rita stands with her back to the class. She draws a figure on the board. The class cannot see what she is doing. She looks at her work. "Very good." Rita turns back to the class. "Now you've got the idea of a polygon."

The above lesson continued for fifty minutes. Rita taught the following concepts: quadrilateral, octagon (Rita also explained the Latin derivation and gave the word in Spanish), parallogram, shapes of signs we use in space (a topic not

covered in the sixth grade book), congruent, right angle, the difference between a square and rectangle, skew, rays, and angle. After this lesson she told me, "If they have a basic vocabulary in English and Math, they can get by."

Later in the semester, I observed a lesson on fractions. Although Rita had taught fractions earlier in the year, she told me that the students had not learned the material. She was using materials she got from the Compensatory Education teacher and was teaching fractions for the second time. She was making a special effort to teach the information so because fractions were on the state skills test. After the lesson, students asked me help them. I worked with six students. Since they were using different books, the books had different problems and different explanations as to how to do the problems. The students could not help each other. Four of the students did not know their multiplication or division tables and were having problems doing the computation. None of the six could explain the concept of fractions to me. When I asked them to tell me what they were doing, they found a definition of fractions in their book and read it to me. They could not tell me what they were to do. The assignment included: reducing fractions to their simplest form; finding common denominators; and adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing fractions. The students tried to imitate the example Rita had written on the board. They did not understand the concepts. In one book the procedures were different from the ones Rita had used to show the student what they were to do. None of the six students could do the work they had been given. During the lesson, one student came to Rita for help. Rita showed me the student's paper. The page was filled with numbers.

"I don't understand what he is doing. Do you?" Rita walks back to her desk. She erases some of the numbers. "This is all wrong." Rita then repeats exactly what she said to the group when she told them how to do the problems. "There," she gives the paper back. "Do it over." The student returns to his desk.

Rita's mathematics instruction reflected her presentation equals knowing approach to teaching and learning. Her technique of giving a large group lecture and then having the students work in three separate books did little to develop the students abilities. Rita's lesson plans indicated that she was teaching mathematics, that she had covered most of the required curriculum.

Computers

One essential component of the CBE Program was the use of computers. The integration of Connors' computer materials into the CBEP instructional program helped convince the school board to fund the CBE Program. Rita used the computer materials more than any other teacher. In a February interview, she told me:

I also use the computer and a lot of cassettes. You know computers are wonderful. They are so polite and even tempered.

[What do you mean?]

The kids do the same activity over and over until they get 80% mastery. A teacher wouldn't have the patience.

The above statement indicates an important assumption Rita had about the computer assisted instruction. She believed that if a student did the same program over and over, he/she would eventually achieve mastery of the concepts in the related exercises. Rita let the students sit at the computer for an hour or more doing the same exercises. When they correctly answered 80% of the answers, she marked off that they had mastered the concept, and they went to the next activity.

In January, I observed Sareth, a mainstreamed student, working on the computer. He had to identify an object on the computer screen and type in the word that corresponded to the object. If he got the word wrong, he had to try again. Sareth was stuck on one word and asked me to help.

Man, I can't do nothin over here. This computer make me sick. I like to play around with this thing, but I don't like to work with it. Those, that, this these!

Ms. Campbell, what is this? I don't know what is this. Is this a cat or what?

[I walk over and look at the screen. Under the picture is the word those followed by a blank. "What answers have you tried?"]

Sareth types a letter. His two words appear on the screen: mouse, rat.

["Sareth, the correct answer is mice. You were right, the picture is of one mouse. But look," I point to the screen, "Because of the word those, you were supposed to type mice, the plural."]

Sareth stares at me.

The exercise was designed to reinforce irregular plural nouns. Sareth correctly identified the picture as a mouse. He did not, however, understand that the exercise do more than identify the object. Even when I explained the activity to him, he could not do the problems correctly.

Sareth also had difficulty interpreting the graphics, and so did I. One picture looked like an arch. I typed in arch, Arch du Triumph, and monument. Another student who had already done the exercise told us it was a pair of blue jeans. On another item, Sareth had learned fireman and the answer the computer program required was firefighter. A man at a typewriter was not a typist but a secretary. One picture Sareth recognized as something you put on your feet. He tried sandle, shoe, flip-flop, sneakers. I tried sandle. "I done that one," Sareth said. We asked the other student. The word was slipper. Sareth had never heard the word before. Sareth got more and more frustrated when "right" answers were not accepted by the computer.

Sareth's experience with the computer was a common one. The graphics with some programs were difficult to recognize even for me, a native speaker of English and an adult. Often the students had learned words other than the ones the computer required. They typed an acceptable answer, and it was counted wrong. Often, the students did not understand what they were to do. Rita simply told them to repeat

the exercise until they got 80% mastery. The students learned the pattern of answers for the exercise and then typed in the answers they memorized. They got the required number right, but often they did not understand the content they were to have learned.

Because Rita's students completed many of the computer exercises with 80% mastery, Rita appeared to be providing her students with a well-integrated, computer-assisted instructional program. Her students appeared to be learning. Bill was pleased with Rita's use of the computers. As mentioned, he felt she was the only teacher really implementing the CBE Program.

Rita's Goals

Of the four teachers, Rita was the only one who never identified any problems in her interviews. The other teachers identified the inadequacy or lack of materials. Rita consistently told me the materials were just fine and she had all she needed. When I asked about the students having any problems with comprehension or learning she said, "Oh, they are doing just beautifully." When I asked whether or not she was having trouble getting all the required testing completed, she said, "Oh no, I am doing just what Bill asked us to. Are the other teachers having problems?" When the students did not complete their work she blamed them for not having listened, "They have heard it, they should know it."

Based on my analysis of observations and interviews with Rita, I did identify several goals that guided Rita's classroom actions. These, however, are my categories and may not indicate Rita's perceptions. Rita did what she was told and documented that she had done it. Rita did whatever Bill asked or what she felt he expected. She was the only teacher who tested all her students on the Briggance even though it was time consuming and gave little information about the students. She used all of Connors' materials even though they were inappropriate for her

lower-level students. She used the computers although much of the software was inappropriate.

Rita took class time Monday mornings to make out her lesson plans for the week and hand them in on time. Teaching the required skills was an important problem. She carefully identified the objectives she thought she was covering. This practice documented that she was teaching to the county and state instructional objectives. This had been a primary concern of the county level administrators before they funded the CBE Program. They wanted to be sure that the program would provide the Southeast Asian students with the academic skills required of the American students.

Rita also believed that her students needed to develop what she called "survival skills." This was one of her primary goals. She felt that the Southeast Asian students were too "passive" and too "dependent" on teachers in general. This perception was expressed in the first draft of the CBEP Guide which Rita and Mindy wrote and in two interviews. To develop her students' survival skills, Rita encouraged them to get around the school by themselves, comply with school rules, and memorize thousands of words. She believed that the LEP students should be responsible for following the same regulations for which the American students were responsible. She covered the material in the Urbantown County Secondary Student Handbook the first week of school and felt that she had given them the information they needed to follow those regulations.

My perception of Rita was that she had a very specific idea of a teacher as someone who followed the rules, did what she was told, and used whatever materials she was given. A major responsibility of the teacher was to cover the material. If the teacher presented the material, then the teacher had done her job.

Documenting that the material had been covered was an important problem, since it was proof that the teacher had done her job.

Rita's Understandings and Assertions About her Instructional Practices

Because the junior high teachers had one planning period per day, I was able to conduct more interviews with them than with the elementary teachers who had no planning period and a 20-minute break for lunch. The following sections include excerpts from several interviews and classroom observations conducted spring semester. In the interviews, Rita explained her instructional program and the materials she was using.

Teaching content area subjects

As I discussed in Chapter IV, Rita told Ellen that the CBEP teachers would have to teach all content areas. She also told Ellen that it was easy: "Just teach the students from the books that are there." One of the first topics Rita discussed with me was the teaching of social studies and science as outlined in the CBE Program guide.

I give all I can, but I won't kill myself. When I first started I worked with Mrs. Fredricks. I was a resource teacher.

[What do you mean?]

I taught English as a second language. The students came to me one or two periods per day. Mrs. Fredricks was a very conscientious teacher. You know what she was doing? You'd have to be crazy. She had grades 9 through 12, and she was teaching not only English but the content area for each grade level. She was killing herself. Mrs. Contaro was doing that too. That's why she left. Ellen replaced her. It [teaching content area subjects] was too much. I teach English and math.

According to Rita teaching the content area grade-level curriculum was simply too much work.

In February, we were discussing what Rita was going to do for the day. Rita gave me a ditto and said,

Look, I am working on my lesson plans. Today I have to give them a cultural class on Valentine's Day, where it came from. I don't know how much they will understand, but I'll have the aide translate. He's so good. I couldn't do half the things I do without him. Here. [Rita hands me a ditto, a crossword puzzle with valentine words.]

Although Rita was not following a social studies curriculum, she listed some activities as social studies or culture in her lesson plans. She gave her students information or occasional dittos on holidays, current events, and other topics traditionally considered to be part of a social studies curriculum. Anyone just reading her plans and not observing her teach might assume that she taught social studies. Bill and the principal, for example, believed that Rita taught social studies. They also believed that she taught culture.

Teaching survival skills

One of the CBE Program objectives was to develop the students' ability to enter the mainstream and compete with their American peers. An important aspect of this objective was that of developing the Southeast Asian students' ability to learn academic subjects when they were taught in English. Rita's instructional practices, as documented in my field notes, created an ambiguous learning environment. Students had to depend on each other to make sense of what Rita was teaching and what she wanted them to do. I did not observe her providing students with any direct instruction that would develop the metacognitive and cognitive learning skills identified in the research that they would need to survive in the regular academic mainstream classrooms.⁸ Nevertheless, Rita cared about her students and believed that she was teaching them survival skills.

⁸ Tikunoff (1986) and Chamot and O'Malley (1992) have extensively researched the metacognitive and cognitive strategies LEP students need to develop if they are to succeed once they are in the regular academic program. Tikunoff calls these skills student functional proficiency. For students such as those in the CBE Program, who have had limited or no formal academic schooling, teachers must consciously develop those skills through planned, well designed instructional activities.

I teach survival skills. Phonics, vocabulary, how to go to the store. How to get around the school. In my teaching, I divide my time into various skills--performance objectives--listening, vocabulary, speaking, reading, grammar, writing, and culture. I feel that these seven divisions of teaching my children English are essential. They start by listening, learning the sounds of the words that discriminate, aural discrimination. Then, as we progress, we go into spelling, and they learn the alphabet. They progress to a point where they can say simple things. I use gestures, I did use gestures frequently in the beginning of the year. Although I do have a Southeast

Asian aide who also speaks Khmer, Vietnamese, and French, I tried to get the boys and girls to give me an answer or perform a task by understanding what I'm telling them without resorting to their native language unless necessary.

Teaching survival skills, for Rita, also meant having her students behave independently and conform to disciplinary standards that the American students followed. The following excerpts illustrate her practices.

From day one I want my students to become independent. I don't want them to rely on authority. The aide asked me if he should take one of my students to the bus the first day. I told him no. From day one I want my students to learn how to be independent. I told the student his bus number and who was on his bus. My kids are all independent now, they can get around the school all by themselves.

I had another case, a Southeast Asian fifth grader. He was put into special education because he had been here three years and hadn't learned English. He got in so much trouble in special ed that they decided to send him to me. He's not a genius. He's low average, but he is learning. The first week he was with me, he got into trouble. The Dean of Boys came and asked me what he should do. I said, "punish him exactly like any other child." He learned how normal children have to behave. He learned the system. Now he's fine.

Rita's teaching of survival skills did little to prepare her students to compete academically with the American students once the CBEP students were mainstreamed into content area classes. Getting around the school on your own, knowing school rules, and learning lots of vocabulary is not the same as being able to manage your own learning. Research by Chamot (1981) and Chamot and O'Malley (1992), for example, has shown the complexity of learning strategies

needed by LEP students if they are to successfully survive in mainstream classes.

Rita's instruction did not help her students to develop those skills.

Developing a curriculum

In a Maarch interview, I asked Rita to explain her curriculum.

"You know, when you have been teaching a long time, you assimilate all these things and see them as a unit. A beginning teacher has to consciously think about what she is doing. My lesson plans are general. . . .

You have to adapt materials to what you have.

[What do you mean?]

The groups of students and their conceptual levels. You have to be flexible. You can't just stick to your plans.

Rita rips the carbon copy of her lesson plans out of her book and hands it to me. Her objectives include the following: ability to spell correctly and use vocabulary words in sentence structure; complete exercises with ending sounds; read paragraphs from handouts and the computer screen; form declarative and interrogative sentences; math--through videocassettes students will be aware of geometrical figures in space and practice working with word problems. Rita indicated that the objectives she identified corresponded to the state mastery standards 1, 2, 5, and 6 in language arts and 7 in math.

After she goes over her lesson plans with me, she explains that the teacher/student feedback loop is the most important.

[What do you mean?]

"How much they respond. How much English they use. For example, the Cambodian kids speak English to the Laotian and Vietnamese students. They use English to communicate. This shows the progress they are making."

The vagueness of Rita's lesson plans and statements during interviews indicated the lack of an integrated instructional program. She did not have any structured curriculum or framework from which she worked. She said that she did not need one. Since she was an experienced teacher, she did not need specific plans. Rita taught from the books she was given and materials she found in her room that previous teachers had accumulated. She covered vocabulary and concepts in the order that they were presented in the book she happened to be using. When students were unable to answer the questions Rita asked during lessons, she told

them the correct answer. I did not, however, observe her helping them to understand why the answer was wrong. She expected them to do whatever work they were given. When they were unable to complete the work, she attributed student failure to the students, not her teaching. The following excerpt from a March interview illustrates this point. Rita asked me to do a psychological evaluation for Chanty Soluth.

I'm concerned about Soluth. I have had her two years, and she is getting worse. I had her tested last year, but the Southeast Asian aide said [her lack of progress] was because she didn't know the language. I think his perceptions were wrong. She could do multiplication and division last year. Today I gave her an elementary worksheet and she couldn't do it.

I know I am not that bad. I taught her that last year. I don't know if she just wants attention. I think it is psychological. Could you ask around the university and see if there are tests we could give her?

Soluth was one of several students that Rita had had for two years. None of them were learning. However, Rita did not seem to question her own teaching or the role her instructional methods might play in her students' school failure.

Covering Objectives

Rita documented that she followed the state objectives and presented the necessary information to the students. In the following interview I asked her about the objectives she used.

[Does the junior high have objectives like those for elementary school?]

Objectives are practical skills the students need. They are useful. They give the teacher a skeleton to work with. Our county has objectives that are check points. You have to get there by a certain time. Now the elementary level does have very detailed objectives, the BSL. The secondary level has

objectives that correspond to the SAT and the state competency tests. We follow these objectives. The county feels the child has gotten the essentials if they pass the objectives. They provide a skeleton for each course.

Rita identified each objective she believed she addressed and placed the number next to the objectives in her lesson plans. Her lesson plans documented that she presented the required material and objectives.

Rita's Perceptions of her Students

In May, I was in the teachers' lounge. Rita came in and asked me about the requirements for an ESL certification program at a nearby university. I had talked with several teachers from who were applying for the program. I encouraged Rita to apply.

Some of the teachers are in a situation similar to yours. They have junior and senior high students coming in who are illiterate in their own languages. They have no experiences or abstract concepts of language to relate the English to, especially grammar concepts."

They don't need it. [Rita walks around the room touching different objects.] Chair, desk, table, computer. Just like Asher's Total Physical Response Technique. All you need to teach are concrete objects. Total Physical Response, that's what I do. The method is based on common sense and is what any good teacher would do."

Rita believed that labelling objects the first week of school meant she had used the Total Physical Response method (TPR). In such a method, the language taught in the ESL class is derived from the classroom or environment. Students listen to the teacher and respond to verbal commands. The meaning of the words is clear because of the concrete objects used and because the teacher and then the students act out the meaning of the commands. I did not observe Rita using the TPR method.

When Rita felt her students were ready, she exited⁹ them from the self-contained program. In one interview, I asked her to please explain her criteria for exiting students.

⁹ "Exiting" is a common term used when students no longer qualify for or need an ESL program. Once a student has reached a certain level of English proficiency, students are exited. They are assigned to the regular academic program. They may receive minimal ESL instruction or tutoring in their academic subjects, or they may no

I didn't place anyone in the regular ESL pull-out program who wasn't reading at a third grade level. I had a few kids, like that Vanneth, whom I placed in ESL pull-out at the beginning of the year. Some of them had a rough time at first, but they are doing all right now. Vanneth was intimidated by being in the different classes.

In September, I tested Vanneth on the Briggance Inventory of Basic Skills. His oral reading was at a low second grade level and his reading comprehension was at a low first grade level. He could phonetically pronounce words, but he did not understand what the words meant. He understood very little of what was going on, although he tried very hard. Rita placed him in the eighth grade where he failed all of his subjects. He was in Ellen's ESL class two hours per day. Ellen realized he needed to be in the CBE Program and tried to get him staffed back into it. She was unable to do so. Rita believed he was more than ready for the mainstream classes. Since Rita was the ESL Department Chair and was responsible for placing students into the mainstream, her decision was final.

In the fall, the year after I did my research, Rita mainstreamed three students who had been in the study. They did not do well academically during the year. In April, Rita wrote the following note to the health teacher.

Dear Mrs Rivers: I am worried about Tran getting and E in Health as he is doing so well in his other classes. [Ellen had talked with several of

Tran's teachers and learned that Tran was failing or getting Ds.] Would you have any suggestions as to how our department can help him?
Thank you, Rita

Dear Rita: In reference to Tran, I can tell you he tries hard, but he and the other two boys you exited were not ready in my opinion to be mainstreamed.

This is their second time around [their second semester in health], and they are doing better, but averages are "setting in" around 54 for each of them.

longer receive the services of the ESL program. The students Rita exited received up to two hours of instruction per day with Ellen.

I have discussed these three with the administration and with the reading teacher. They say there is nothing they can do about them being in my class. . . because you say they are ready.

I have tried to help them individually and as a group. I get the other kids to work with them too, but they will not let me know when they don't understand.

Suggestions: Re-evaluate readiness for being out of the CBE Program. . . . They [were] not ready to be out of full-time ESL. Encourage the students to ask questions when they don't understand. I don't read minds.

The Administration's Support of Rita

Rita's documentation of the materials she presented, her completion of all assigned tasks on time, and her willingness to do what she was told led to some unquestioned beliefs about Rita by her supervisors. Rita was seen by Bill as being the only teacher who implemented the CBE Program. One result of the administration's support of Rita and her program was that Rita believed if the administration supported her then she must be doing things right.

The administration's support of Rita was demonstrated in several ways. First, Rita was appointed the ESL chair at her school, even though Rita had no background in teaching English to non-English speakers. During the year, problems between Rita and the other ESL teachers arose because Ellen and the ESL resource teacher had their master's degree in teaching English as a second language (TESL). Ellen and the resource teacher, who was from the Middle East, had years of experience teaching overseas. Both teachers believed that Rita's instructional practices were inappropriate for many of the students, yet because Rita was the Chair, they could do little to override decisions she made.

The primary area of conflict arose when students whom Rita had taught were mainstreamed and had to work with Ellen or the resource teacher for one period per day. As already discussed, many students Rita mainstreamed were perceived by other teachers as not ready for the academic classes. In addition, since the students

did not learn what they covered in Rita's class, the other ESL teachers often had to place the students in books they had completed with Rita. This caused a lot of friction. The students came to Rita to complain, and she intervened with the administration on their behalf. The following excerpts from January interviews illustrate this point. The first paragraph was with Rita. The second one, from the same day, was with the resource teacher.

"Ms. Campbell, would you please give me a copy of the observations you have made in the other classes. . . . I am interested because the students have been complaining. You know, the resource teacher got in trouble the first nine week marking period. He failed too many students. He was never directly told by the principal, but rumors got back to him.

Four students complained and wanted out of the program. Also, last week I asked Ellen and the resource teacher to come to the computer lab and use it first period when my students have gym. They didn't seem very enthusiastic."

"The problem is that although the students completed several books in the English for a Changing World series, they did not learn the material. They did not do well on the diagnostic test I gave them in September. I had to place them in a level they had already completed with Rita. The students are mad that they are in the program. They feel it is useless because they already completed her books. They resent being in my class. I am very frustrated. These kids don't know English, yet English is essential if they are going to succeed and graduate from high school."

Although the other ESL teachers had a different understanding of what the Southeast Asian students needed to learn if they were to succeed in the mainstream classes, the administration supported Rita's decisions and she had the final word. This support, and other rewards such as representing the program at a state conference, served to strengthen Rita's belief that she was a good teacher.

Rita's Program: A Summary

Rita had numerous beliefs about teaching, learning, her students, and how they best learned English. The one belief most consistently present in the lessons I observed was that teaching is the presentation of information. Other beliefs demonstrated in her practices and statements were: a) getting the right answer

demonstrated in her practices and statements were: a) getting the right answer equals learning, b) memorizing thousands of decontextualized words means developing survival skills, and c) hearing unfamiliar sounds develops an ability to pronounce those sounds correctly. Rita's practices also reflected the belief that teaching is easy, requiring little preparation or a planned curriculum.

Rita's instructional practices indicated that two of Rita's goals were to cover the materials she had been given and to document that she had done what she was asked. To that end, she presented vast amounts of information to her students and kept lessons plans detailing the objectives that she covered. Rita told the administration, other teachers, the secretaries, and the guidance counselors about the information, skills, and activities she covered in class. Rita told me that the principal never observed in her classroom. Although I did document that Bill visited her classroom, I never saw him formally observe her teaching. Usually he stayed 15 minutes to half an hour spent the time talking to Rita. Since the administrators did not observe her teaching, they did not realize the discrepancy between Rita's assertions and her actual classroom practices.

Rita's beliefs resulted in misperceptions of her instructional practices, her students and their abilities, and in the implementation of a program that was ineffective and inappropriate for the Southeast Asian students she was assigned to teach. Her instructional practices did little to help her students learn English or the academic concepts they needed to compete with their American peers. The materials she used did little to prepare her students for the academic realities of the junior high classes into which they were to be mainstreamed. Rita believed that she had a good program and that she was a good teacher. She believed that she was providing her students with a comprehensive instructional program that prepared them to succeed once they left the CBE Program.

Similarities Between Mindy and Rita

Mindy and Rita used their own perceptions and understandings to construct general statements about their classroom practices. Although there was little correspondence between what they said they were doing and what they actually did, no one knew. The teachers never visited each other's classrooms to observe. The principals and Bill had so many administrative responsibilities they had no time to observe in the classrooms. Additionally, they had no training in ESL and really did not know what the teachers should be doing. They had to rely on the teachers to keep them informed of their instructional programs. As a result, Mindy and Rita's statements about what they were doing became the realities that the administration believed existed in their classrooms.

Rita and Mindy explained what they did in the following statements.

"I'm teaching survival skills" (Rita)

"In the program we have to help the child develop basic concepts for every year he has not been in school. Today the fourth graders are working on K.1A, 1.1A, 2.1A, 3.1A, and 4.1A. By working on the practice skill test for each level, the students will develop five years conceptually" (Mindy)

Both teachers constructed elaborate frameworks for the instructional programs they implemented based on these central statements. Both teachers attributed student failure to the students' inability to remember rather than to their instructional practices.

By comparing the data discussed in this chapter, I identified similarities between Mindy and Rita. Neither Rita or Mindy, for example, had adequate relevance structures or appropriate stocks of knowledge for teaching the Southeast Asian refugee students. They looked to the administration and other sources external to their classrooms for answers and for validation of their work. Their perceptions and

understandings of what they thought they were doing guided their classroom practices.

Rita and Mindy had similar beliefs about children in general, the Southeast Asian students in particular, the way one learns a second language, and what it means to teach a second language. They also shared the belief that covering material was an indication of having done their job. Each of them carefully detailed all the materials and activities they did with their students. No one, including themselves, ever checked to see whether or not the students actually learned the material that was presented. When the students failed their county-level tests at the end of the year, the students were blamed for not having paid attention. "They've heard it. They should have learned it."

Mindy and Rita were tenured in the school district and both had more than four years of teaching experience. They were assigned by their supervisors to do a job for which they were not prepared, and in that sense cannot be criticized for how they taught or how they thought about language learning and teaching. They had no formal coursework in linguistics, bilingual education, multicultural education, teaching English as a second language, curriculum development, or foundations of education.¹⁰ Professionally, they knew relatively little about what they were assigned to do. Furthermore, Mindy and Rita were the ESL Chairs at their schools. They were supposed to provide guidance to the other teachers. Both believed that they were in the positions because they were experienced teachers. The administrations statements that they were the best teachers in the program served to reinforce their beliefs.

¹⁰ Mindy and Rita participated in a county-wide needs survey Bill administered in the early 1980s to determine inservice training needs of the ESL and Bilingual Education teachers. Of the eight categories of professional preparation course work listed on the survey, Mindy and Rita did not have courses in any of the areas.

One effect of Mindy and Rita's instructional programs was that their students developed very unrealistic perceptions of their English and academic abilities. They also evaluated their future teachers' instructional practices based on Mindy and Rita's instructional practices. The year after I completed the study, I maintained contact with the teachers and did follow-up interviews and several classroom observations.

Ellen had students Mindy and Rita had taught and discussed the following problems with me in a March interview.

Mindy's students simply were not prepared. Their English comprehension was very low. They did not know their basic math. Two girls I have this year

complained about the amount of work they had to do for me. They wanted to sit and copy from the board and memorize words. For them, that was what learning was all about. They complained about doing homework and complained because I made them think.

Rita's students complained because I had to assign them to English books they had completed with Rita. They simply did not know the material they had covered, yet I really had to work to get them to realize that they did not know what they thought they knew. They also were mad because I had all the students in the same math book. They thought I should assign different books and teach the same lesson like Rita had done. Once they realized they were really learning their math, they accepted my way of teaching math. I can not blame the kids. Mindy and Rita were their first experience with American teachers. Mindy and Rita were the only standard they had.

In Chapter VIII, I discuss the implications of the findings presented in this chapter. I turn now to a discussion of Jennifer and Ellen and the programs they developed. Their programs are in sharp contrast to the ones I examined in this chapter. Of interest is the fact the the teachers were in the same schools in the same school district and were ostensibly implementing the same program. The differences between the two groups of teachers help to illustrate the importance of the individual in the program implementation process.

CHAPTER VII RELEVANCE STRUCTURES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION: JENNIFER AND ELLEN

In Chapter VI, I discussed the programs Mindy and Rita developed, their perceptions of their instructional practices, some similarities between their programs, and some problems associated with the programs they implemented. In this chapter, I discuss Jennifer and Ellen's programs. I begin with a discussion of the problems each teacher identified as she worked to implement the CBE Program. I discuss their instructional practices, their perceptions of those practices, the instructional programs they developed, and each teacher's perceptions of her students. At the end of the chapter, I examine the similarities between Jennifer and Ellen's programs and discuss how close their programs came to meeting the CBE Program goals.

Jennifer

Jennifer taught the combined kindergarten and first grade CBEP class at Urbantown Elementary. During the fall, I conducted formal and informal interviews with Jennifer. The purpose of these interviews was to learn what she was doing to implement the CBE Program. I also made informal observations in her classroom. After observing, I went to the teachers' lounge and wrote in as much detail as possible what I has observed. The initial interviews and observations indicated problems Jennifer had identified and actions she took to resolve those problems.

Initial Problems Jennifer Worked to ResolveDisparate developmental levels among Jennifer's students

A major problem Jennifer faced was the disparity in her students' developmental levels. She spent most of September and some of October reviewing general readiness skills, documenting students' mastery of those skills, and placing students in appropriate instructional groups. She developed individualized plans for each student. The lowest group of five students tested at nursery and pre-kindergarten on their readiness skills. Several students had almost no fine motor skills. They had never held pencils and had not developed the eye-hand coordination needed for reading and writing. They did not know how to use scissors, had never seen glue or scotch tape, could not hold crayons properly, and needed a lot of supervised practice as they worked to develop these skills. They did not understand the correspondence between spoken words and written symbols. Jennifer developed numerous activities to help them develop those skills.

The following excerpt from my September field notes illustrates the low developmental levels of some of Jennifer's students. I recorded the notes immediately after testing Thuch, the lowest student in her class. Testing all of the CBEP students individually helped me to understand the disparity in their academic and developmental levels and the instructional problems Jennifer faced.

Jennifer walked over to Thuch [to tell him that I was going to test him]. I watched her alternately point to me and talk to him. Thuch looked at her, not comprehending a word she said. Jennifer patiently repeated what she wanted him to do [and added gestures to help him understand]. . . . Finally, she asked Schram to translate.

Schram took Thuch's hand and walked with him [to the testing area]. She showed him where to sit. Standing by my chair she explained [in his native language] what he was to do. I showed him a picture and said a word. He had to point to the picture if he recognized the word.

Schram did two of the sample questions and modelled the procedure for Tluch. When he seemed to understand, Schram returned to her seat.

Testing began. It was over as fast. Tluch knew two of the four sample words and two others--bus and ball. . . .

I put the second test in front of him and pointed to a row of 20 geometric figures in half-inch boxes. "Tluch," I said, "I want you to copy these shapes." He stared at me. I called Schram over.

"Schram, tell him to copy these designs." I pointed to the row of figures at the top of the page. . . . Schram said something in [his native language while] I modelled copying the designs. Then, she picked up the pencil and pretended to draw, talking constantly in [his native language].

After several minutes, Tluch picked up the pencil. Wrinkles appeared in his brow as he concentrated on holding and positioning the pencil. Then, with equal concentration he turned the paper around and around until it was in the right position. He drew a line, stuck his tongue out, turned the paper again, and drew a second line. Tluch drew four lines before he dropped the pencil and shook his hand. He could not copy any of the figures.

I asked Tluch to try to write his name, the second task on the test. Once again, Schram translated. Tluch picked up the pencil and positioned it in his fist. He made several random lines on the paper. Jennifer came over. "How's he doing?" She smiled at Tluch as I handed her his test sheet.

Inspecting his work she smiled again. "Not bad. He learned to hold a large crayon last week." Jennifer walked over to the math group leaving me to wonder what torture to which I had subjected Tluch and some of the other students.

Tluch did not know any letters or numbers in English. I did not ask him to try to spell, read, or do the math problems. Tluch tested at pre-nursery. He is the lowest in the kindergarten group; however, five of the 26 kindergarten and first graders are close to his level.

In early October, I asked Jennifer how she was dealing with all her students different skill levels. She told me that she had had mathematics groups since mid-September.

[In reading, however,] I am really feeling behind. I need to make reading groups. The first graders can't go into reading unless we have groups. The others are too noisy. [Who do you mean?] The kindergarten and pre-readiness kids. They don't have the language or the readiness skills yet to begin reading. They get bored and talk. The first graders are eager to read.

By the end of October, Jennifer was teaching two mathematics and three reading groups daily. The kindergarten had two reading groups: those with few pre-readiness skills, and those with more readiness skills. The primary difference

between the two groups was in their general vocabulary development and their readiness skills in mathematics. The 10 first graders comprised the third reading group. Most of them had been at Urbantown Elementary the previous year and had many general readiness skills. They also had some knowledge of English. They could recognize some letters and sound out simple words. They had some language arts and mathematics competency skills required for promotion from kindergarten to first grade. They were ready to read.

Lack of instructional materials

A second problem Jennifer identified was the lack of appropriate instructional materials. During the summer, when the rooms were cleaned, many of Jennifer's materials were thrown out. Additionally, due to fundings problems, the materials she requested in June were never ordered. She compensated by buying some of the materials she needed and making others. Her teacher-made materials were an integral part of the instructional program she implemented. In September, when I tested Tluch, I recorded one of my first examples of Jennifer's use of teacher-developed materials.

Looking down at my #2 pencils, I realized I needed something wider for Tluch to use. "Got anything more appropriate?" I held up the #2.

"Yeah." Jennifer picked up a small, kid-sized cigar box. Opening it up she took out a fat, kid-sized pencil.

"What's that?" I asked indicating the cigar box.

"This? It's a pencil box. The kids made them last week."

"Made them?" I asked.

"Yeah, but it's easy. There's a place where I get the cigar boxes. The big pencils and scissors are from the supply warehouse. The glue too. I stopped and picked them up on the way home. I did buy the crayons and rulers, but they are really inexpensive."

"I think it's great," I told her. "That is probably the first pencil box these kids have ever had."

"Yeah, but they're a good learning tool too. I developed a lot activities using the pencil boxes to teach the students school related vocabulary lessons. . . . Here." Jennifer gave me the fat red pencil.¹

By October, Jennifer still had not received the materials she had ordered in August. Jennifer did have mathematics and reading groups, but the laboratory had not been set up. Jennifer shared her concerns with me.

Last year I had centers they went to after they finished large group work. We really don't have labs. . . . There is a lack of materials.

[What do you mean?]

I don't have a flannel board or pocket charts [for reading]. The order hasn't come in yet. I asked for a housekeeping set from Jewel [a local store]. That hasn't been ordered. I would like phonics books, blocks, beads and patterns, an easel and drawing rack, alpha people. I need furniture too. [The principal] got rid of all the old furniture in the other rooms.

[What other rooms?]

The other kindergarten and first grades all got new furniture--desks, chairs and materials. We haven't got anything yet.

If I could set up my pre-K and K the way I wanted, there would be a few chairs and rugs where the kids could sit. I'd have a bench in the reading corner. Kids love that. Each child would have a clothespin with his/her picture. The different centers would be arranged by capacity. [What do you mean?] By the number of students that could work there at one time. The student would attach his/her picture at the center they wanted to work at. They would leave when they wanted to. There would be manipulative centers.

[What do you mean by manipulatives?]

¹ Refugee children experience extreme poverty when they are raised in refugee camps. These students literally come to the United States with the clothes they wear, and little else. Jennifer's students came to school never having seen a pencil, glue, scissors, tape, crayons, a ruler, or other school related materials that are so much a part of the average American child's life. For many of her students the pencil boxes and their contents were the of the first school supplies they had ever had. Jennifer had to teach her students what these materials were, what they were called, and how to use them in the school setting. Many of Jennifer's students had never held a pencil. Many had never been given paper with which to draw pictures. Some such as Tluch spent the first month developing the fine motor skills they needed to draw, cut, and paste. Jennifer used the pencil boxes and their contents as an integral part of her curriculum the first week of school. She taught her student essential school related vocabulary and provided them with experiences using the materials in the boxes that would enable them to participate in the regular first grade academic.

Last week I bought all different colored pom poms. I had them in a paper bag. The kids put their hands in the bag and guessed what they were. They loved them. The pom poms were soft, fluffy, and furry. The kids rolled them around the room for eye-hand coordination. They learned the colors and descriptive adjectives too.

Lack of equipment to set up the laboratory

For the first two months of school the students did not have desks or appropriate chairs. During the day, the students had to store their personal belonging and books on the tables or on the floor under their chairs and the tables. Student belongings got mixed together or lost. Students did not have enough room to do their work. Additionally, Jennifer had to plan time between lessons to help students find the right materials. Until the desks arrived, it was impossible for Jennifer to set the laboratory up as she wanted. The following excerpt from an early October interview illustrates Jennifer's perceptions of the problem and her frustration at not being able to get the classroom equipment that she needed.

I still only have [rectangular 2 1/2' X 5'] tables and folding card table chairs for the kids. [They] need desks for space and privacy. [The students] don't have any place to put their belongings.

They are sitting on . . . folding chairs made for adults, not children. So far I have had kids falling off the chairs, pinching their fingers trying to set the chairs up in the morning, and wetting their pants because they can't get out of the chairs on time. . . . Also, I can't make learning centers. The tables take up too much room and can't be arranged or rearranged easily.

Need to teach students how to work in an instructional laboratory

Jennifer did not receive chairs for her students until the end of October. She set up her instructional laboratory when the desks were delivered in November. She spent part of each day teaching her students how to use the instructional activities in the laboratory and how to work in the learning centers. Jennifer taught them to follow a daily routine and to work independently while she taught small groups. She taught them to select appropriate activities, use the equipment,

work in pairs or small groups, talk softly, clean up once they finished, and work within time limits.

By December, Jennifer was working on all the goals identified in the CBEP Curriculum Guide. The students had language arts and mathematics lessons every day. Jennifer had also developed science lessons for the students such as planting seeds and drawing pictures of plants at various stages of their growth. She developed her curriculum using monthly themes or units that integrated mathematics, language arts, and social studies. She also tried to create a classroom environment as close as possible to that of the regular academic program. She believed that such a program would prepare them to succeed once they were classes with their American peers. To develop her academic program, Jennifer observed in other kindergarten classes, including one class at another school, and she talked with the kindergarten and first grade teachers to find out what activities and materials they were using. By January, the students had learned to work independently and in small groups, an important goal of the CBE Program.

Administrative Emphasis on Management Versus Instructional Concerns

While I documented the problems Jennifer worked to resolve, I also identified an important problem with which Jennifer and the other teachers had to contend, the management requirements of the bureaucracy and their effect on the teacher's classroom-level instructional needs. As I analyzed my notes, I identified numerous examples where the administrative emphasis on district- and school-level management issues conflicted with the teachers' implementation of the CBE Program. This dichotomy and the dilemma it posed for the principals especially, has been researched in depth by Wolcott (1978). The purpose of this section is not to criticize the principal, but to demonstrate the many administration-generated

problems that Jennifer had to resolve as she implemented her instructional program.

One aspect of the conflict between the administrative emphasis and Jennifer was that Jennifer emphasized teaching. The principal, however, emphasized program management issues such as turning lessons plans and forms in on time, neat rooms, and presenting a good image to the central administration. She did so because those were the primary criteria by which the central administration evaluated a principal's competence as an administrator. I documented fifteen times during the year that the principal's requests, which were responses to district policies, disrupted Jennifer's classes and instruction. Jennifer told me of other incidents. The principal asked Jennifer and other CBEP teachers to fill out forms whenever she received notification from the district office that the forms were needed immediately. She had the teachers grade standardized tests during class time, because the make-up exams took longer than expected and the school missed the deadline to have the sheets computer scored. If the scored sheets had not arrived at the county office on time, the principal would have looked inefficient by the county administration standards. Twice the principal had CBEP teachers clean their rooms during class time before visits from the county administration. This occurred because the principal did not have much lead time regarding the visits. The visits were to evaluate the implementation of the CBE Program.

Jennifer felt that activities that disrupted class time could have been done after school. She was concerned that complying with the principal's requests took time away from her students' instructional program. In a January interview, Jennifer told me

I have really gotten behind in my lessons [today]. I had to fill out papers because one of my students left, and I got two new ones [on Tuesday] and one on [Thursday]. . . . [The principal said she] needed the

papers right away. [I am] getting through my reading groups, but afternoon activities are suspended.

Other interruptions included having Jennifer pose her students for pictures to include in an awards scrapbook, write the principal's speech for the school awards ceremony, and work on non-instructional activities related to county and state awards. This June observation illustrates these types of interruptions.

At 12:15, the principal calls Jennifer over the intercom. "Jennifer, I lost the script for tomorrow's awards ceremony. I need another one immediately. Don't forget to include where I should tell people to applaud. They forgot to applaud this morning. The secretaries are typing the scripts and are waiting."

Jennifer was working with the students on a language experience story. She explains to the class, "I need to write something for Regina. Then I am going to call you up and have you tell me about your picture."

12:25 p.m., the secretary calls Jennifer over the intercom. Jennifer, Regina said you were writing something for me and that I should come and get it. Can I come down? Are you ready?"

Jennifer says, "Yes." She sits down and begins writing. Consuelo comes in and asks Jennifer what she is doing. [Jennifer explains.]

"Why can't she ad lib?"

"Oh, Regina wants everything we are going to say written down."

12:30 p.m., the secretary arrives. Jennifer is not finished. The secretary sits for a few minutes and tries to help Jennifer compose the speech. She gets up to leave, "I don't want to make you rush. Let me know when it's ready."

"I'm sorry," says Jennifer, "I hate to keep you waiting. I don't want you to have to stay late tonight."

12:50 p.m. Jennifer is still working on the script. The children are working quietly on the pictures for their stories.

Regina also had Jennifer come to the office and "translate" when Southeast Asian parents registered their children.

The following excerpts from fall interviews indicate additional problems Jennifer had to resolve that resulted from the administrative emphasis on management issues and the district emphasis on compliance and image-making.

Inappropriate equipment. You wouldn't believe this week. Friday we got new file cabinets. [Why?] The principal, decided she didn't like the four-drawer cabinet; . . . they were too tall. They didn't look good. She

ordered three-drawer cabinets for everyone in the school. The teachers were never told. We had to take everything out of our cabinets [after lunch] and pile papers and folders all over the room. [We spent the afternoon trying to pick up. The aide kept the kids busy.] I shoved folders and materials in drawers. I can't find anything. You should see the library!

My kids still have tables, no desks. . . .

Friday I got fed up and decided to get my kids [appropriate] chairs. All the old chairs from the kindergarten and first grades have been sitting behind the stage since the beginning of the year. Well, the principal caught me. We were walking back from the cafeteria with the chairs. She blew up at me in front of the kids and made us carry them back. Later the resource teacher and I had a meeting with the principal to schedule the students who come to me at 1:30. In the middle of the meeting Regina lays me out about the chairs again. I don't mind being told I have made a mistake, but I would prefer being told in private not berated in front of the kids and my peers.

Concern over a lost form. I feel mean and depressed. All I want to do is teach.

[What happened?]

Did I tell you? Last Thursday, Regina became unglued at the faculty meeting. She told me I had lost a form and told me to go look for it. She wouldn't tell me what I had to look for. The next morning she sent two other teachers to my room to look for it. They went through my desk while I was trying to teach. One of the teachers found the form in a book I had already looked through. I feel like Regina tried to frame me. Yesterday, in the middle of the faculty meeting, she said "Jennifer, I want to reprimand you about that form you lost last week." She went on and on. . . .

Then, today, we had a meeting with Regina about materials. I said, "We'll take anything we can get." Regina told me I don't follow through.

Oh, guess what? We finally got our chairs. They came today. Regina was in the room when they came. I told her how much we appreciated it. We are supposed to get desks sometime next month. All we need now are books.

As the principal worked to comply with the administrative emphasis on management her actions sometimes created problems for the teachers. Sometimes, the principal did not tell the teachers she had ordered classroom equipment, and they had to take time to rearrange their classrooms the day it arrived. She was unable to fill their requests for materials due to funding guidelines, so the teachers often had to replan their instructional program when the

materials never arrived. Often, central administration requests for paperwork were made at the last minute. This meant that the principal was unable to give the teachers enough lead time to do the administrative work the district required without their taking classtime to do so. When the teachers failed to comply with the principal's requests, were unable to complete forms during the school day, she reminded them at faculty meetings or at private meetings in her office of the importance of getting reports and forms in on time.

The following excerpt from a November interview illustrates one incident where Jennifer and the principal conflicted. The principal had ordered materials without consulting Jennifer, who reviewed them and found they were not appropriate for her students.

Today, Regina brought me a reading kit that I didn't order. It is for kindergarten, but it is too high for my students. I told her later, and she got upset. She said I had made her look bad, that I was complaining.

[Can you send them back?]

Are you kidding? I'll do what I should have done in the first place.

[What's that?]

Put them on the shelf.

Jennifer had additional problems that were related to the administrative emphasis on management and Jennifer's emphasis on instruction. One was related to the difference between her teaching style and the principal's concern neatness and order. In October, when Jennifer began setting up the individualized learning centers, the differences between the two became apparent. Jennifer used the three bulletin boards in her room to display work from each student. She wanted students to be proud of their work and believed the displays reinforced the vocabulary and concepts her students had recently studied. The principal was not pleased with Jennifer's bulletin boards, because, as Jennifer explained:

She doesn't want the room junky. She likes the room neat and tidy [like Mindy's]. I like to display all the projects the kids do. I think every kid should have his work displayed.

Jennifer's desire to display student work and the principal's desire to have classrooms "neat and tidy" was a point of conflict throughout the year.

Problems Jennifer Worked to Resolve: A Summary

Jennifer faced numerous problems that affected the implementation of the CBE Program in her classroom. The primary ones resulted from the conflict between the central district administration's emphasis on management issues (as exemplified in the principal's actions) and Jennifer's emphasis on instruction. When many of Jennifer's materials were destroyed during the summer, for example, Jennifer was left with insufficient materials to begin the year. Bureaucratic policy and the ambiguous funding status of the CBE Program resulted in the principal being unable to order the materials Jennifer needed. Jennifer had to make do with what was available and develop much of what she initially used in her program.

In September, when the principal was able to find funds to order materials for the CBE Program, she had to order materials in specific categories to meet funding requirements. As a result, materials that could be purchased with school funds were often inappropriate for the CBEP students and program. Additionally, although the principal did order equipment such as desks and chairs, they did not arrive until late fall. The principal tried to get the equipment delivered earlier, but was unable to. Because of state policy regarding used equipment, the principal was unable to allow Jennifer to use the old kindergarten desks and chairs. While this seemed unreasonable to Jennifer, the principal had to follow the regulations.

In the next section, I discuss the instructional program that Jennifer developed. I examine her instructional practices and discuss them in light of current research in teaching language minority students

Jennifer's Instructional Program

In January, I conducted my first formal observation in Jennifer's class. My first protocol for Jennifer was 10 pages of single-spaced notes covering two hours of instruction. During the first observation, I concentrated on documenting Jennifer's interactions with her students. I recorded what the students were doing at the various centers around the room. In the first five minutes, Jennifer used three strategies to create a comprehensible learning environment:² pointing to words and reading them aloud, monitoring student comprehension of the vocabulary she was reviewing, and using peer tutors to provide meaningful input and clarify concepts. The excerpt below illustrates initial practices I identified and provides a brief example of the program she was constructing in her classroom.

8:55 a.m. Jennifer is sitting by the blackboard where she begins each day with large group instruction. Channeoun sits on Jennifer's lap. As the children come in, Jennifer sits quietly waiting for them to get in their seats. Occasionally she reminds someone to hang up his/her coat. Once everyone is in place, Jennifer says, "Good morning."

[She waits for the students to get settled.] "I don't have everybody's attention. Good morning."

The students respond in unison, "Good morning."

Channeoun helps Jennifer take attendance by holding the attendance cards for her to read. As Jennifer reads each name, she points to the words. Channeoun softly repeats the names.

² The importance of a comprehensible learning environment has been discussed in the second language acquisition research. Stephen Krashen (1981) states that language learners understand a new language with the help on a meaningful context, prior experience in the world, and "previously acquired linguistic competence" (p. 2). When a learner does not have one or more of these three factors, the teacher must compensate and work to create a comprehensible learning environment. See Krashen (1981) and Krashen and Tracey Terrell (1983) for further discussion of this concept.

Once attendance is taken, Jennifer says to me, "Everyday I like to begin with a language experience activity the class does together. We also begin with a song." Jennifer looks at the class and starts singing. "I pledge allegiance, I pledge allegiance, I pledge allegiance to the flag. . . ." Jennifer repeats the song again. The second time all the children join in and sing with her. When the song ends, Jennifer says, "Thank you Channeoun, you have been a big help." Channeoun returns to her seat.

Jennifer gets up and walks over to the board where she has written the reading vocabulary words that the first grade students are learning that week. She points to the words and says, "Real quick, first graders read." Jennifer points to each word. She watches the students as they read each word. They have trouble with one word.

"What's a grill?" Jennifer asks. "Do you know?"

All of the children say, "No."

"I didn't think so." Jennifer draws a [detailed] picture of a grill on the board. She explains [what a grill is]. She asks if any [students] have ever seen one. Several say they have.

[She asks them a few questions to make sure they know what she means.] Then, she asks them to tell the others in their native languages what it is.

Several students say, "Oh yeah."

Jennifer and the students discuss what a grill is. Jennifer asks if [anyone has] a grill at home. Most say that they don't.

While Jennifer is working with the first grades, the kindergarteners watch what she is doing or they talk softly to each other. Once the words are reviewed, the first graders line up to go to Chapter I.

Providing comprehensible input

Jennifer's instructional practices were designed to create a comprehensible learning environment, an environment in which students understood the language they were hearing and learning to use. Having students sit on her lap while she read helped students develop the sign-symbol correspondence for reading. Channeoun, for example, watched Jennifer point to student names and heard them read aloud. In this way, she was able to make the connection between written letters and familiar words. Jennifer's practice of pointing to the words and having

students follow her finger as she read helped students develop the left-to-right hand/eye coordination they would need to read and later write in English.³

Monitoring student learning

Jennifer watched the students closely as they responded to questions and tasks she asked them to do. She checked student comprehension of the language they were hearing. If they did not understand, Jennifer asked them directly, "Did you understand?" When they did not, she explained the word or concept with gestures, pictures or an object. If students still had not understood, she asked the more fluent students if they did. She asked those students questions to check their comprehension. Once she was sure the more English-fluent students had understood, she asked them to help the other students understand. This strategy encouraged peer tutoring which was an integral part of Jennifer's program. It also allowed Jennifer to make sure as best she could that the students who did not understand received accurate information.⁴

Jennifer asked students if they knew something and provided students with opportunities to say, "I don't know." This practice helped her students develop

³ Jennifer's kindergarten students came to school with few of the readiness skills their American peers had already spent five years developing. Most of the students came directly from refugee camps. There was no television and no Sesame Street for these children. No one read to them at night. In fact, most of their parents were illiterate. These students had no concept of the sign/symbol correspondence necessary for reading. They did not know how to hold a book and they did not have the left-right eye coordination necessary to read words in English. Jennifer's practices of pointing to words with her finger as she read them aloud and telling her students to follow her finger helped them to develop the eye coordination necessary to read in English. It also helped them to develop the concept of sign/symbol correlation between the spoken and written word.

⁴ Since Jennifer did not speak the students' native languages, she could never be sure that her students were translating correctly. Under the circumstances, her comprehension check before she asked the students to translate was the best she could do to insure accuracy of information.

two skills they needed to successfully function in the regular academic program. First, asking questions of the teacher is an important culture-related skill necessary for success in American classrooms. In many cultures, students do not ask questions during class. To do so is to admit that they does not know. Since the teacher is revered as the authority, to say "I don't know," means that the teacher has not taught well. Therefore, you does not ask questions. Jennifer taught her students that it was all right to ask a teacher questions.

Knowing you does not know is another important skill. If you do not know you do not know, you cannot ask appropriate questions. By making students aware that they did not know something, Jennifer helped her students to learn strategies for monitoring their own learning. This is an important meta-cognitive learning strategy LEP students need to develop to succeed in American schools (Chamot & O'Malley, 1992). Jennifer's teaching techniques helped her students learn that strategy.

Drill and meaningful practice

Jennifer used multiple strategies to help her students understand, learn, and use the language they were hearing. The following excerpt from a January observation illustrates some of the strategies Jennifer used to help her students comprehend the skills and knowledge she taught them. In this excerpt, Jennifer was reviewing initial sounds of several letters that the students had already learned. She also worked with the students on the pre-readiness skill of identifying capital and lower case letters. Both of these skills were tested in the spring.

9:05 a.m. [Jennifer is working with the 16 kindergarteners]. She walks to the board. "All right, look up here."

Jennifer holds up a card with 'b.' Several children say, "B." "Good. B, buh banana." She holds up a card with a picture of a banana and the words banana written underneath it. She points to the word [and says it again]. She puts the picture on the chalkholder under the blackboard.

"Okay, Listen." Jennifer points to her ear. Jennifer holds up a card with the letter e on it. "E."

The children repeat, "E."

Jennifer holds up a picture of an egg with the word egg written underneath it. "What is this?"

Salouh says, "An egg."

"Right, an egg. What comes out of an egg?" Jennifer pretends she is a chicken laying an egg. She sits on the egg. Then she pretends she is in the egg. She hatches and becomes the chick. [She reviews the 'b' and 'e' sounds again. Then she points to the pictures and then the words. She reads banana then egg. She checks for comprehension and has the children repeat several times, individually and together.]

Jennifer holds up the 'g' card. "G." The children repeat, "g." "Good, g, guh, guh, goat." She holds up a picture of a goat. "Goat." The students repeat, "Goat."

"Let's see if you remember. What's this called?" Jennifer points to the goats eye.

"The eye," the children answer.

"Right, and this?" Jennifer points to [other] parts of the goat. The children name them--tail, ears, head, body, legs, horns. They have trouble with horns. Jennifer points to the horns again. "What are these?"

Several students answer her in [their native languages].

"No, no, I know you know it in [your language]. I want to know what it is in English." No one answers. Jennifer says, "These are horns. Repeat please, horns."

The children repeat, "Horns." [I look around. All the students are paying attention. Eyes and ears are on Jennifer.]

9:10 a.m. Jennifer holds up the letter 'o.' "O. What is the big 'o' word?"

All the children answer loudly, "Obstinate."

"Right, obstinate. Chan, would you please pretend to be obstinate."

Chan stands up. Jennifer says, "Walk, Ms. O." Chan runs around the table. All the children laugh. Jennifer walks over to Tluch. "Tluch is small."

Chan says, "No, big." Everyone giggles.

"Boy are you obstinate." Jennifer points to something black. "This is black."

All the children answer, "No, white."

"This is light," Jennifer says pointing to a pale blue object.

The children respond, "NO, dark." Chan is standing by one of the desks. Jennifer smiles, "Thank you Chan, you did a nice job."

Jennifer looks at the students. "Monthi, please go spit out your gum." Monthi gets up quietly and gets rid of his gum. The lesson proceeds. Jennifer holds up cards with letters, pictures and words. The children identify the sound of each letter. Jennifer corrects them and models the sounds and words correctly when the students have trouble. They discuss other words that begin with each sound. Once they have reviewed all the

letters, Jennifer says the sound, and then says words. The children have to tell her whether or not the word begins with the same letter by saying yes or no.

All students but Kim are participating. Jennifer says, "Kim, can you help me with this sound." Jennifer holds up the 'n.' Kim says the sound for 'n' and gives Jennifer a word that begins with the sound. [Later Jennifer tells me that Kim was bored. She had progressed very fast the last month. Jennifer decided to move Kim to the first grade reading group at the end of the marking period.] Jennifer reviews two more letters.

Jennifer gets a new deck of letter cards. The new cards have the letters in upper and lower case. The students are still learning to identify the upper case letters. The review ends.

9:20 a.m. Jennifer comes over to me. How do you think they did? Before I can answer she says, "They work much better in small groups than individually or in large group. Some know [their letters] already and they reinforce [help] each other."

In the above excerpt, Jennifer used realistic pictures to reinforce words and concepts the students were learning. She imitated the chick coming out of the egg. She often mimed situations and acted out actions and behaviors to help the students understand. By watching Jennifer role play, students learned to role play too. Jennifer often had her students act out words they had studied.

Jennifer constantly checked her students comprehension and their ability to produce the sounds and words they were learning. She provided opportunities for students to practice and use vocabulary she had previously taught.⁵ For example, Jennifer taught a lesson on body parts in the fall. Asking students to name the parts of the goat was one way Jennifer taught them to use and review that vocabulary. Jennifer's lesson plan did not specify that students would demonstrate mastery of those words. She saw an opportunity to use the language

⁵ Anderson (1981; 1985) found that extensive practice is required for a person to reach a stage where he/she uses cognitive skills such as language automatically and can function in that language. Chamot and O'Malley (1992, p. 43-44) recently summarized research on cognition related to second language learning. They argue that automatization of the second language, English, is a necessary skill for an LEP student to be able to learn in an all English academic school learning environment. The use of meaningful drill and practice is one way to develop that skill.

and did. Jennifer called such opportunities "teachable moments. You have to jump on them and use them," she explained.

Jennifer also used drill. In the above excerpt, she drilled students in initial vowel sounds and upper and lower case letters. She used pictures and activities to contextualize the information students learned. Drill is an important strategy when teaching students English as a second language or any foreign language. Such strategies help the students develop their ability to use language easily, without first translating in their first language. Daily drills in pronunciation and letter recognition enabled her kindergarteners to develop their pre-readiness and readings skills.

Integrated skills and learning games to evaluate student learning

Jennifer integrated the skills from the Basic Skills List into her curriculum. She also created games that helped her students learn and that provided her with a quick comprehension check. The quick game of "obstinate" took less than a minute and provided a quick review of opposites, a skill that would be on the county test. During such games, Jennifer watched those who did not participate. Then she would assign those children activities in the learning centers that gave them practice in developing that skill. She did this for both language arts and mathematics.

Appropriate and meaningful feedback

Jennifer constructed a comprehensible learning environment for students by providing them with appropriate and meaningful feedback. The excerpt below from a January lesson illustrates this practice.

"Today we are going to look for things that are alike." Jennifer holds the book up and points to the number '4' at the top of the page. She slowly turns, making sure that all students see where her finger is. "How many?"

Several children say, "Four."

"Right, four. We are going to look for four things that are alike in each group. You might find a small fire engine, a medium fire engine, a large fire engine. They are all alike because they are fire engines. Okay, I want

you to find four fire engines in this first group." Jennifer holds up the book so that all the children can see. She points to the first problem on page 21. She goes to group one [the pre-K and non-speakers of English] and briefly works with each child.

She works with Thuch. "Find four [she holds up four fingers] that are alike. Then draw a big circle with all four inside." Thuch looks at Jennifer. She takes his hand and shows him how to draw a circle. "Look," she points to the fire engines in the circle, "One, two, three, four." She leaves group one and walks around the room checking everyone's work, making sure that each child knows what the task is.

"Okay, now find four signs." She holds the book up and points to problem two. "Stop sign, yield sign" Channeoun holds up her hand. Jennifer goes over to work with group two. Jennifer looks at Channeoun's work. "Those are seats. Listen. Signs. Find the signs." Channeoun points to the signs. Jennifer smiles, "That's right." Channeoun erases her circle and corrects her work.

Jennifer walks over to one group of four desks. "Look," she says to the class. The students look at her. She points. "Look at the seats." She points to the chairs. There are four. "How many?"

The students in group two say "Four."

"That's right, four. Let's count them." Jennifer points to the chairs, and the student say, "One, two, three, four." Jennifer points to the buttons on her blouse, "Buttons, how many? Count them." As Jennifer points, the students count, "One, two, three, four." "Good."

Jennifer walks around the room making sure that everyone has found the four signs. She stops at group one. "Look," she points to Vanna's work. Vanna counts, "One, two, three, four."

"Circle all four." Vanna erases and corrects his work.

Jennifer walks to the board. She holds the book up and points to the next problem. "Now, find the boy with 4 on his hat." Jennifer goes around the room checking everyone's work. All the students are having trouble with this one. Jennifer goes to the board. She writes 4 5 6 7. She points to the numbers. "Which hat has four on it? . . . Let's count from four." Jennifer points to the numbers as the children count in unison, "Four, five, six, seven."

"Okay, which hat has four on it?"

Several students answer, "The first one." [The students finish the problem.]

Jennifer continually talked to the students about the tasks they were doing.

She provided numerous cues about the task they were to complete. She made sure the students were on the right page worked on the right problem. She

monitored students' work. She worked individually with the students who needed her help. She gave the students specific information that they needed to correct their errors. One of the qualities I identified about Jennifer was that she treated errors as a natural part of the learning process. Her teaching had an easiness about it that made learning in Jennifer's classroom a non-threatening experience.

Development of Student Functional Proficiency

Jennifer's teaching strategies helped her students develop what Tikunoff (1986) has called "student functional proficiency." Functionally proficient students develop the academic knowledge they need to succeed. They also develop the skills necessary for social interaction in the classroom and the skills necessary to complete the academic tasks they are given. For example, Jennifer maintained a consistent daily schedule. This practice helped her students develop the skills necessary for working successfully in the laboratory. Jennifer spent the first two months of school teaching her students the daily schedule of working in mathematics and then reading groups. When the students were comfortable with Jennifer's teaching schedule, then she worked to develop the strategies they needed to work in the individualized learning centers.

By January, Jennifer's students were successfully following a complex daily schedule. The first five minutes, Jennifer worked with the first graders on their spelling words. This activity provided the first graders with work they did when they returned at 9:30 a.m. after their Chapter I class. Their tasks included getting paper, returning to their seats, copying the words, and, for some, writing sentences using the words. Jennifer gave the students the work they were responsible for once they returned from Chapter I. This practice helped her to maintain her teaching schedule and finish her work with the kindergarteners. Since the first

graders knew what they were to do, they went to their seats and worked with a minimum of supervision from Jennifer. This behavior, the first graders ability to remember an assignment and come back to the room and work, was essential to the instructional program Jennifer operated. All the students had specific tasks they were expected to complete while Jennifer worked with different groups. If the students failed to complete the tasks they were given, the laboratory could not operate. By maintaining the same daily schedule, the students gradually learned the social behaviors they needed to cooperate with Jennifer and become functioning members of the classroom community.

The following excerpt illustrates the complexity of the learning environment and the students' ability to complete the tasks Jennifer gave them

9:32 a.m. The first graders return from Chapter I. Schram shows Jennifer his paper. "Very good," says Jennifer. "Would you please get some paper and pass it out to all the first graders." As the first graders come in, Jennifer says, "Start on your spelling. . . ." The first graders go quietly to their seats. They sit down and start working.

Jennifer continues working with the kindergarteners. One of the first graders goes over and lies on the rug in front of the spelling words. He starts reading them aloud. Jennifer goes over and whispers. She asks him to please go work quietly in his seat so that he won't disturb the others. Jennifer looks around the room.

9:38 a.m. Jennifer comes over to talk to me. "It gets real confused the next few minutes."

[What do you mean?]

I have to get the kindergarteners started on enough work so that they will be busy while I work with the first graders on their reading. I also have to keep the first graders working on their math and spelling while I get the kindergarteners started on their activities. The first graders like to do the kindergarteners' work because it's neat, or easy. I have to make sure they do their own spelling and math.

As the first graders finished, they individually went to work in the different learning centers. While they worked individually, Jennifer was able to work with the kindergarteners for 20 minutes more. She quickly reviewed the language arts lesson she had done before mathematics and checked students' comprehension of

the concept of upper and lower case letters. Then she gave the kindergarteners a worksheet that gave them practice recognizing the letters they were learning. The aide arrived and supervised the kindergarteners. Jennifer then taught reading to the first graders for 45 minutes. When the kindergarteners finished their activity and completed their mathematics assignment, they went to the learning centers.

The learning centers included the computer, two language masters, file strips with cassettes and earphones to listen, a puzzle area, several manipulative areas, and the reading area. While she worked with the first graders, Jennifer periodically asked individual kindergarden students if they had worked on their letters or done some other activity. She made sure they worked in several of the activity areas.

The kindergarteners worked in pairs quietly at the learning areas. They stayed on task and helped each other. The ones who knew a little more English or who had mastered a concept acted as teachers, and encouraged or helped other students do the activities. The children put the materials away when they finished with them. At 10:55, Jennifer reminded the students that it was time to clean up. She walked around the room. As the students finished and put away their work, they pushed their chairs under their desks and lined up at the door. When the line was quiet, Jennifer took them to lunch and then came back to the classroom. I asked her how she felt the students were doing.

[The first graders] are going very slowly. They have to go through 5 books--4 pre-K and one hard cover primer--to be ready for the Mastery Skills Test in April. They are in the first book. They can call the words.

[What do you mean?]

Sound them out phonetically, but they really need to work on their comprehension skills.

[Like what?]

Finding the main idea, inference, getting word meaning from the context, identifying sequence, and classifying words to name a few. They have a lot of basic vocabulary to learn too.

I told Jennifer that I was impressed with the way the kindergarteners worked at the learning centers, and I was amazed that the first graders were able to work with her on reading for 45 minutes. I reminded her what it was like in October, before she had desks and learning centers. "I guess they have made some progress. It's hard to see when you're in the middle of it."

Development of Metacognitive Learning Strategies

One further strategy Jennifer used to help her students develop skills they needed to function in mainstream classes was that of allowing students to complete tasks themselves. She gave the students just enough feedback for them to figure out what they were doing wrong. Such feedback enabled them to complete the task with a high degree of accuracy. The following excerpt from a kindergarten mathematics lesson illustrates this point.

9:20 a.m. Jennifer tells me it is time for math. She walks to her desk and gets the math book. She holds up the book for the children to see. "Okay, take your books out. See if you can find page 21." Jennifer walks quietly around the room making sure everybody is on the right page. She gets to Tluch who is still turning pages. Jennifer looks to see what page he is on. "Keep turning Tluch." Jennifer encourages him. Tluch finds page 21. He points to the number. Jennifer smiles and makes the thumbs up sign. "Okay." Tluch smiles.

Jennifer walks to the front of the room, making sure that everybody can see her. She holds up the book. "Turn the page so that the fire engine is right side up." She waits until several students turn their books around. She goes to the board.

In this brief interaction, Jennifer gave the students directions and then gave them time to do the task themselves. While she did give Tluch feedback about completing the task, she did not go over and turn the pages for him. She waited and let him do it. Also, she did not directly tell students that their books were upside down. Rather, she told everyone to make sure the fire engine was right side up. Jennifer's technique of telling students something might be wrong, and then allowing time for the students to identify and correct their own errors gave

them the practice they needed to develop skills needed to complete academic tasks. Tikunoff (1986) calls these participatory skills. Being able to locate the correct page and knowing how to hold a book and turn pages also were pre-reading skills listed on the Basic Skills List.

Jennifer's Content-Based English Language Program

By January, Jennifer had resolved many of the problems she initially identified. She had developed a comprehensive instructional program that incorporated content area instruction and individualized learning centers. She was also using the computers at one of her learning centers. She followed a consistent daily schedule and developed a curriculum that integrated language arts and mathematics skills across the content areas of social studies and science.

Daily schedule

Jennifer's schedule evolved during the fall as she added reading groups and helped students learn to work independently in the learning centers. Once they were able to use the laboratory, she followed the same schedule the rest of the year. At 8:55, Jennifer worked with the first graders. They wrote a language experience story or went over the spelling words. At 9:05 the first graders went to Chapter I, and the kindergarteners had language arts and started on mathematics. When the first graders came back at 9:35, they did their spelling or copied the story they wrote earlier. During this time, Jennifer started the kindergarteners on a mathematics or language arts activity that supplemented their morning instruction. Then she worked with the first graders on reading for 45 minutes. When the kindergarteners finished their assignment, they work individually or in pairs at the learning centers. Additionally, the students had art, gym and music for half an hour one morning each week.

Lunch was from 11:00 to 11:30 a.m. At 11:30 the students returned and everyone rested for about fifteen minutes. At 11:45 students returned to the activity centers they had been working at or they completed work they had started in the morning. Jennifer worked with the other first-grade reading group from noon to about 12:45 p.m. Then all the first graders had mathematics. Jennifer did a fifteen minute lesson and give them work. Then she worked with the kindergarteners on another language arts activity. Every afternoon from about 1:45 to 2:30 p.m., Jennifer did something she called social studies or science through the arts. The students did units, for example, on such themes as transportation, seasonal holidays, woodland animals, the seasons, zoo animals, and the neighborhood. Jennifer used songs and art projects for the students to develop vocabulary and concepts related to the topic. At 2:30 the students went outside for recess. From 2:45 to 3:00 the busses arrived.

Integrated curriculum

Jennifer's curriculum was integrated. She incorporated multiple skills into all her lessons. She identified these skills from the Basic Skills Lists and included vocabulary development, listening comprehension, reciting numbers, turning pages of a book appropriately, recognizing language concepts such as opposites, naming familiar objects, naming colors, discriminating words audibly, recognizing upper-case letters, recognizing lower-case letters, discriminating beginning sounds, and following oral directions.

Jennifer worked on mathematics concepts daily and used those concepts in the cut and paste art projects she did for science and social studies. She also integrated test taking skills into the format of her activities and lessons. Teaching students how to circle items, locate the first problem on a page, and mark their answers with an "x," were all skills the students would use on the basic skills tests in April.

The directions she gave used the same vocabulary the students would hear on the test.

Social studies and science. The following excerpts from April observations illustrate Jennifer's social studies and science through the arts curriculum. The curriculum was organized around themes. Each week the students learned related vocabulary and then did an art project. The projects gave them the opportunity to review and practice the language arts vocabulary and mathematics skills they were learning. Jennifer used the art projects to make bulletin boards related to the theme of the month. The observations I made about the bulletin boards and displays helped me to document the material Jennifer covered and activities the students completed when I was not in the classroom. In the following observation, the students were working on a transportation unit. They had already studied land vehicles and were studying those that go in the air. They had made whirlybirds and were working on building planes.

The kids are making purple airplanes with white wings and tails. When they are finished, the planes will go on the transportation bulletin board. They will share the sky with the whirlybirds the kids made Monday and will fly over a bright blue lake. . . .

All the students are working independently on their planes. "Is it going to look like that?" Channoun looks at the plane Jennifer has just finished. She looks at the disassembled plane she is trying to put together on her desk and shakes her head.

"Contact. Contact. Clear the runway," Jennifer says. Children move. Jennifer throws her plane. It does a perfect loop-the-loop and makes a perfect belly down landing. Everyone cheers. The students busily work. One by one they come up to have their wings stapled in place. Jennifer talks with each student. She asks them questions and checks to see how well they have learned their vocabulary. Vanneth has something that looks like pontoons hanging from his wings. I ask him.

He says, "In [my country], I saw plane once with things like that. It land on water."

I tell him they are called pontoons. He repeats, "Pontoons."

Jennifer discusses aerodynamics and wing shapes with Ramana. She convinces him that he needs a straight tail. He returns to his desk to make a new one. Monthi comes up.

"Oh, we have a problem and a half here. Let me fix it." The three students waiting to have their wings attached watch Jennifer intently as she tries to reshape Monthi's wings. "I may have to give you another one." Jennifer takes the scissors. "We have a problem. Surgery is necessary." She makes a cut in the wing. Monthi's worried face watches her. "It's going to be wonderful. I can tell. There." The wing is fixed. One repaired plane is returned to a happy owner.

Jennifer holds up her plane. She asks the class, "Where is the pilot? Where does he sit?"

Someone asks, "What's the pilot?"

Jennifer responds, "Remember, he's the guy who files the plane. He sits up here in the cockpit." She points. "Repeat, the cockpit."

The children repeat, "Cockpit."

Sambath comes up. "I want my wings like this Ms. Jennifer." He holds the wings at an angle.

"I'm not sure it will fly, but we can try it." She attaches the wings exactly as Sambath asked.

Several students come over to show me their planes. Everyone is different. We discuss the similarities and differences. Some wings are longer, some wider. The angles are different. Some students have drawn designs on the wings and tails. Jennifer holds up Chansothy's plane.

"Look, it's a cross between a fighter jet and an upside down prop plane."

Jennifer's social studies and science through the arts curriculum provided her students with a meaningful language-rich environment. During the above lesson, all students interacted with Jennifer and me in English. They used complete sentences and were able to use a wide variety of adjectives to describe the planes they were making. Most knew the parts of the plane: the wings, the body, the tail, the nose. Jennifer expanded on the body parts vocabulary she taught in October and helped the children learn that the same vocabulary could be used in different ways.

A week after the above excerpt, the transportation unit was over. The unit on zoo animals had begun. The room had changed dramatically. The excerpts below, recorded one week apart, illustrate the breadth of concepts and vocabulary which Jennifer worked with her students to develop.

The lake at the bottom of the transportation bulletin board is filled with a regatta of sailboats. Zooming past the helicopters are ten white phantom

jets spitting orange exhaust onto a bright blue sky. From the ceiling hangs the rest of the phantoms and a few purple transport planes.

The jumping jacks and jars of jelly beans have been replaced by transportation art work the students have done. Scenes on one board illustrate all the types of land transportation the kids have studied: trains, cars, motorcycles, bicycles, and busses with macaroni wheels.

On the theme-for-the-month bulletin board, the lions and lambs of March are no more. In their place are 18 inch chicks sitting in half an egg shell. The top half of the egg shell is their hat. Above the chicks is a strip of blue paper with black letters: "Cheep! Cheep! Spring is popping out all over."

On the windows the first zoo animals are displayed, peacocks with plumes made from turquoise, yellow, green, magenta, and pink tissue paper. They look like stained glass as the sun's rays stream in. In the corner by the record player is something I missed last week. A branch of a tree is covered with Easter eggs the children colored. No two eggs are alike.

[The next week I stop by Jennifer's room. The students are finishing their social studies through art activity. The zoo animals unit is well underway.]

Each child is drawing an animal of choice in a paper circus car. Then they have to string black yarn through holes in the top and bottom of the car. The yarn will become iron bars to keep the animals inside. Once the black paper wheels are attached, the cars will hang from a clothesline behind the black engine Jennifer made. The engine will pull the cars to the next imaginery town where the circus will set up.

The transportation bulletin board is gone. In its place is a forest and lake mural reminiscent of Busch Gardens. Giraffes and zebras come to drink from the lake. Tigers and panda bears hide amidst the forest trees. On the opposite board the hibernating animals are gone. In their place, 24 gorillas are climbing palm trees and hiding in the palm fronds. Except for the trees and the background lake and grasslands, everything displayed in the room has been made by the students.

Jennifer's social studies and science through art curriculum enabled her to integrate language arts and mathematics while creating a meaningful language-rich environment for her students. Her acceptance of the art work that her students made and her insistence on displaying even the anatomically correct animals created a learning environment in which her students and their efforts to learn were accepted and encouraged.

Jennifer's Perceptions of her Program

In May, I interviewed Jennifer and asked her about her program, how she organized the curriculum, and how she saw herself as a teacher. The excerpt belows illustrates Jennifer's perceptions.

Activities. My classroom . . . is a lab. I try to teach the children through as many semi-concrete or concrete experiences as possible. If I'm talking about a cow, I try to get a plastic [cow]; obviously I can't bring in a [real] cow, but I get a plastic farm set. [I may have] a white cow with brown spots and a black cow with white spots, and maybe just a brown cow. There are all different kind of cows . . . that the children can manipulate.

[What do you mean?]

Touch, look at, feel. I think [using manipulatives] is important to learn the concept. We also have pictures of cows attached to the language master. Flimstrips are shown about farm life. If there is an opportunity to provide a field trip [while we are doing the unit] then I also add that as well. Last month, for example, we went to the zoo while we were studying the zoo animals.

Curriculum. We do a lot of role playing. Finger plays, poems, all of my board work is centered around the one unit that [we] are studying. [The purpose] is to develop language, to be more consistent as far as connecting everything together. I use a multi-disciplinary approach as much as possible. Through math, we count farm animals. If I am doing a science lesson, we talk about the differences of the teeth of a cow and a say a crocodile [an animal we have already studied]. The meat eaters have sharp pointed teeth and grass eaters, which a cow is, are more squared off.

There are many things one can do through music too. We sing about being on the farm, or Old Macdonald. All of the different disciplines are brought in.

Computers. I am using the computer, although I am not satisfied with the way I am using it. I haven't found adequate software for the kindergarteners yet. There also is a maturity problem for the kindergarteners using computers in my classroom. The first graders are eager to use the computer and are able to handle it, but the software is either what I call an electronic ditto or it's just too difficult for the children to be able to master anything. It's just a guessing game.

[Are you using the materials that were purchased from Connors?]

The materials didn't meet the needs of my students. The computer activities are word and picture. They are too hard. My kids need concrete objects before they use pictures. Most of the materials we got are just paper and pencil. That isn't enough. I did use some of the software to reinforce things I had already taught.

Machines. I use the typewriter in the first grade. They type their number words, color words, vocabulary words, and their spelling words that they must learn every week. I use a calculator (adding machine) in the classroom because the children enjoy using grown-up machines. The two machines I have become outdated and were being put on a truck to be retired. I begged them for the lab. How I use the machines is pretty much

like flash cards. The children get a ditto and then use the machine to come up with the answers. I also use two language masters. One is for the vocabulary for the unit we are studying. The other is for reading and Dolch sight words for the different levels of children.

Grouping. The children are homogeneously grouped as far as their reading groups are concerned. They're shifted back and forth between groups for math. Other than that, there are small group activities for manipulatives, or large group activities if I am doing art or introducing a unit or lesson.

Jennifer's Perceptions of her Students and their Needs

During a May interview, I asked Jennifer about her students. She began by describing her first year and some of the frustrations she had.

Eventually the children won me over. . . . Children have always been children to me, but these kids are different. They are special. In the two years that I've been with them, especially that first year, I probably learned more than they did. . . .

Presently, I have 26 students. Probably the biggest problem that I have . . . is the high mobility rate. It seems that [I] just get the children to a certain stage. They can communicate through speech, writing, reading, maybe not on grade level but pretty darned near it, when we get notice that the children are moving.

I think it would be neat to . . . see how [those who have left] are functioning at this point. It would also be neat to trace [the students] into the far off future and to find out what has become of them. I feel like these are going to be our doctors, our pharmacists, our computer whizzes, and our engineers.

[Why do you feel that way?]

There seems to be a general feeling throughout all the different cultures, there's a real strong commitment towards education. Probably that's one of the reasons why I enjoy teaching them so much. They are highly motivated. They're appreciative, and they want to learn.

You know, I've had several opportunities to leave this and go back into the regular classroom. . . . I'm fighting to stay here. It has been a long time since I have been able to get up every morning and have really been excited about what I am doing. I really enjoy just about every minute of the day. . . .

[Why?]

All the intrinsic rewards: the excitement, the progress that's made, and the little milestones.

Respect for her students

Jennifer liked her students, enjoyed teaching them, respected them, and believed that they were going to become future leaders in their communities. During the year, I never saw her take anything that belonged to any student without first asking their permission. She always said please and thank you. She listened to her students ideas and allowed them room to explore, make mistakes, and learn from those mistakes. She never chastized anyone for asking a "stupid" question. She encouraged everyone to try. I never saw her punish any student.

Empathy and perspective taking

Jennifer had an ability to see the world from the perspective of the five-year olds in her class. In September, Jennifer met me in the teachers' lounge. As we walked to her room she said:

"Oh, have I got one for you!"

"New student?" I asked?

"Yeah, Yon Tluch. I don't think your tests are going to tell you much about him."

As we entered Jennifer's classroom, I saw him. Small, rigid, precariously perched on an adult-sized, cold, metal folding chair. He looked lost.

"Those damn chairs." Jennifer waved her arm indicating the folding chairs scattered around the kindergarten room. "Three kids have wet their pants this week. They're too scared to ask to go to the bathroom, and half of them can't get out of the chairs fast enough anyway."

We walked over to Yon Tluch. His black eyes got wider and wider as we approached. Smiling, I looked down on one of the smallest, most apprehensive faces I had ever seen.

"Hi, I'm Ms."

Before I could finish, Tluch started crying. I think Jennifer sensed my guilt.

"Don't worry, he's been doing this with every new adult this week. I guess if I were separated from my parents for the first time, put on a bus with strangers and taken to a strange building where people talked to me in

a strange language, I'd be scared too. Who knows what hell he's seen. What he's thinking."

As she talked Jennifer knelt beside Tluch's chair. Making herself as close to his eye level as possible, she gently stroked his back. Softly she comforted him.

"That's okay. You're scared, aren't you?"

By now several children had come over to watch. One, Sol Luth, was fluent in English. She was being transferred to the first grade class tomorrow.

"Luth," said Jennifer. "Tell him it's okay. Tell him not to be afraid." Luth began talking in [Tluch's native language]. Whatever she said worked. Tluch slowly nodded his head. The tears stopped.

Not willing to leave until she was sure he was okay, Jennifer asked Comach to get her some Kleenex.

"Come on, blow." Jennifer held the Kleenex to Tluch's nose. "Blow." He looked questioningly at her not sure what to do.

"Blow," said Jennifer, "Blow." Air swished through her nostrils as she modelled blowing her nose.

Tluch blew, softly, but he blew.

"There, feel better?"

Tluch sat silently. Jennifer stood up. I realized all the children had come in.

"In your seats. Time for the pledge of allegiance." Jennifer walked to her desk. The day had begun.

Creation of a safe place to learn

Jennifer was aware of the trauma her refugee students had experienced. One of Jennifer's primary concerns was that her students feel safe. She was aware that many of her students arrived in Urbantown less than a week before they registered in school. Not only had these five and six-year olds moved half-way around the world to a place when no one spoke their language, they had been raised in refugee camps where they were constantly with their parents and other relatives. Going to school meant being separated from their families the first time in their lives. Thus, one of Jennifer's goals was the creation of a safe learning environment. The following excerpt demonstrates her concern.

A young Southeast Asian man accompanied by five children walks up to the front door of the school. The smallest boy is crying. Three of the children arrived in Urbanville a few days ago from camps in the Phillipines. They have never been to school. The smallest one is kindergarten [age and] will be [assigned to] Jennifer's room.

Jennifer comes to the office to greet the students. The crying [youngster] starts to scream. He doesn't want to be separated from his brother. Jennifer kneels down [to be] at eye level with the crying child. Looking at the child, she asks the older brother if he can speak English. He [answers], "A little."

"Please, tell your brother I will be his teacher. Tell him you will be in the next room. Tell him you will see him during the day and at the end of the day. Tell him he will be safe." The boy talks to his brother.

Jennifer kneels in front of the student until he stops crying. She takes his hand. They walk with the brother to her room. They watch the brother go to his class [and] they go to Jennifer's room.

The new student stands in the doorway holding Jennifer's hand. He stares at the Southeast Asian children who rush around him speaking English and getting ready to begin the day. Jennifer walks with him across the room. She seats him at the desk next to Tluch and introduces them.

She tells Tluch that the new boy is afraid [and asks him] to help the new boy. He has many things to learn. Tluch solemnly nods his head. Jennifer walks away to get ready for the pledge.

Tluch turns to the new student and starts talking in [their native language]. He takes out the cigar pencil box he made in September and opens it up. The new boy sits silently as Tluch tells him about the contents, things the new boy has never seen before. I am amazed at how verbal Tluch is and how animated. The new boy smiles.

Later I tell Jennifer it was a great idea to put the new boy next to Tluch. Jennifer replied, "Who would understand better than Tluch what it's like to be scared."

Jennifer understood her students and worked hard to make them feel safe. As they learned to make sense of the school and classroom, Jennifer encouraged them to help one another and to explore and interact with the world around them. She allowed them to share their understandings through group work and paired activities in the learning centers. Jennifer acknowledged her students' abilities. She expected all students, whatever their levels of academic achievement to contribute to the classroom social context she fostered. By the end of the year, Tluch, for example, had become the student who welcomed the pre-readiness newcomers and helped them adapt to the classroom routine. By April, he could explain and demonstrate how to use class materials, skills he himself did not have at the beginning of the year.

Jennifer created a safe learning environment in other ways. For example, she never forced her students to speak English in the classroom. She believed students would speak when they were ready. Stephen Krashen (1985) has called the time when a student does not speak in the new language "the silent period." During this time students are confused, threatened, and unsure. They cannot communicate in the new language. For Tluch, the silent period lasted over six months. The whole time, Jennifer talked to Tluch and interacted with him as she did with any other child. The last week in February, I stopped by Jennifer's room. The children were watching a movie.

As I sat down, Jennifer whispered to me, "Tluch said his first sentence today."

"What?" I am amazed. Tluch has been almost non-verbal [in his native language and English] since he arrived.

Jennifer repeats, "Tluch said his first sentence. He actually came up to me and said a sentence."

She motions for Tluch to join us. Shyly, he crosses the room. Head down, eyes gazing at the floor, he comes up and stands beside her. Jennifer puts her arm around Tluch's shoulder, cups her hand to his ear and whispers.

Nodding that he understood, Tluch slowly turns, looks at me and says in an almost inaudible voice, "I go church. . . ."

"Tluch, what does that mean?" Jennifer nods her head up and down.

Tluch whispers, "Yes."

She moves her head back and forth. "And this?"

He whispers, "No."

Jennifer smiles, "Very good." I smile too.

"Go ahead and sit down," she says. Tluch returns silently to his desk.

During my last interview with Jennifer, I asked why she liked teaching the LEP students. She thought a moment and said, "It's like a celebration, sort of. Everyday somebody does something wonderful."

Jennifer's Instructional Program: A Summary

Jennifer understood her students and their needs. Her seven years experience teaching third grade and her continual interaction with the other kindergarten and

first grade teachers in the school enabled Jennifer to identify the skills and concepts her students would need once they were mainstreamed. Based on these understandings, Jennifer developed a comprehensive content-based English language curriculum for her students. The curriculum was developmentally structured and corresponded as closely as possible to the regular academic program. Based on my interviews with Jennifer and my observations of her instruction, I found a high correlation between what she thought she was doing and what she actually did.

Jennifer's instructional program was characterized by a discovery approach to learning. Jennifer truly enjoyed language teaching and learning and the world it opened for her students. Several characteristics of Jennifer's program that emerged from the data included the following: (a) learning is fun for both the teacher and the student, (b) learning can only occur if the student understands the language being used and has appropriate concrete experiences to develop the concepts that are to be learned, (c) time must be spent creating activities and providing students with multiple opportunities to explore, use, and come to understand the concepts and vocabulary that are presented, (d) children learn best in a context-rich language environment, and (e) language learning can only occur when children have multiple opportunities to speak and use the language. In Jennifer's classroom the children were constantly involved in hands-on, small group and individual interactive activities. The children were encouraged to talk to each other and use the language they were learning.

Jennifer's program evolved during the year and was based on her observations and understandings of her students and their needs. Her program did not fit well with the county and school emphasis on a linear, mastery skills approach to learning. The administration saw Jennifer as being disorganized, since her

program was not easily documented. Jennifer's room seemed cluttered, and her students were noisy not actively engaged in the language learning process. The administrators' lack of understanding of Jennifer's approach to teaching and of Jennifer's beliefs about how the CBE Program should be implemented resulted in numerous contextual problems that worked against Jennifer as she implemented the CBE Program. In effect, Jennifer developed her program despite the administration. She also met every one of the objectives stated in the CBEP curriculum guide.

Ellen

Ellen was assigned the CBEP sixth grade class and taught with Rita at Urbanville Junior High School. She was not one of the original teachers who developed the CBE Program. Ellen worked with the teachers one day during the week in July when the teachers and Connors worked to revise the curriculum guide. Once Ellen learned that she was to be assigned as the CBEP sixth grade teacher, she worked with Bill and Rita to learn what she would be responsible for teaching.

Initial Problems Ellen Worked to Resolve

Fall interviews with Ellen, excerpted below, describe the problems she identified as she worked to implement the CBE Program. I begin with Ellen's perceptions of the problems because the problems she identified and the actions she took to resolve them shaped the academic program that Ellen implemented.

Teaching content areas

When I first learned that I would be teaching ESL I was extremely happy. To me that meant teaching English as a second language. Then I met with Bill and Rita and learned I would be teaching content areas. I said, "You have got to be crazy. No way can I teach math or science. Social studies, maybe." That was my first surprise. The second one was the kids. [What do you mean?]

Coping with the student's different needs and academic levels

In the Middle East, I taught ESL at a private school for four years. Although the kids had different language levels, they were all from a similar background and they all had pretty much the same kind of normal adolescent problems. They were all kind of uniform. Not my kiddos. They weren't all rich kids without too many problems in their lives.

[Can you give me an example?]

Three of the boys had been in the program the year before and didn't want to be in the program again. They didn't want to be Southeast Asian, and yet they couldn't really be American. They wanted to fit in, but they couldn't, not yet. One, Kol, he had watched his father being executed by the Khmer Rouge. He was full of anger. Others already in the regular academic classes were coping with the academics and fitting in socially. To be honest, I didn't know what I was doing, and I didn't know how to cope with all these people.

[What do you mean?]

Until the FTE count was in I had all of the kids that weren't assigned to Rita's class. So, for almost three weeks, I had 35 students. Fifteen were the sixth graders I was assigned to teach. They were with me all day. The rest, 20 students, were in the regular academic program in seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Some came in for an hour, some came for two hours, and I felt like I was teaching 96 levels of English.

I asked Rita how I could cope until the FTE count. What I could do when I didn't know if the kids would be with me all year or would go to another teacher. She said she had copies of old SAT tests. I could test them all and find out how much they knew and put them into their levels according to the test. That was great because it took up two days.

So, I did the SAT tests with them. Even Kol and some of the really good kids who were already mainstreamed did not do well. Some of them scored nothing, zero, which was really discouraging because I figured that the SAT people knew what they were doing. It didn't occur to me that the tests might not be a good indicator [for assessing the LEP students' academic skills.]

I decided to have the other kids write me something about their backgrounds. I saw immediately that some of the kids did not want to write about themselves. One, Schrack, still refuses to write or talk about anything that happened during the war or in the refugee camps. So, I told them to write about anything. Kol and Kong wrote about their fathers being executed. . . . I had kids who tried to write, but their English was so very low that it was hard for them to tell very much. I didn't know anything about the war other than what I had seen in the news reports. So, I really didn't understand the background of the kids. I wasn't able to read between the lines.

Developing a comprehensive daily schedule

At the end of the third week, they hired a resource teacher. He took some of the eighth and all the ninth graders. I had 23 students: 15 sixth graders and 9 seventh and eighth graders. Third period the sixth graders have gym with the seventh grade. That is my planning period. Other than that, they are with me all day. . . .

I was trying to get started, to teach something. Mr. Kei, the Southeast Asian aide, was coming to me a couple of hours every afternoon. He suggested we start with math. At the beginning, I just let him teach. I didn't force him: he just did it. This was just with the sixth graders.

[It sounds like you had a lot to deal with getting organized. What kind of schedule did you develop?]

The schedule was crazy. It's getting a little better. The seventh graders came in at all periods of the day. Some were there just first period. Some were there the first two periods. Two came first and fourth. Three came fifth and sixth. Plus we kept getting more students.

[Including eighth graders?]

Yes. They come now after lunch. At first, I tried to teach the sixth and seventh graders separately.

[What do you mean?]

I tried to spend time with the sixth graders say, teaching science. Then, at the same time, I had to find something for the seventh graders to do in English. I switched back and forth between the groups. I don't think I was satisfying anybody. I guess I'm still doing that, switching back and forth, but it seems to be working now. Also, sometimes I include the seventh graders in the science or social studies lesson I am doing with the sixth graders. I even had one of the seventh grades present a report he was doing on evaporation. It fit right in with a science unit the sixth graders were doing.

During the fall, Ellen worked to resolve these and other problems. The materials she had been given, for example, were inappropriate for her students. Ellen had to adapt what she could, find different ones, or develop her own. She had to deal with the different academic and language levels of her 18 sixth graders. Because Ellen taught seventh and eighth graders as well as the CBEP sixth graders, she was required to have homeroom. By November, she was teaching an integrated, content-based English curriculum.

Daily schedule. The day started at 7:35 a.m. Ellen had 32 LEP students. She took attendance and often worked with students on homework and answered their

questions about work in their other classes. At 7:55, the bell rang. The 18 sixth graders and three seventh graders stayed with Ellen for first period.

The times I observed her, Ellen began first period with a large group science or language arts lesson with the sixth graders. The students had a reading they did together, vocabulary development and questions they answered that helped develop comprehension skills they would need to take the Mastery Skills Test. While the sixth graders worked on the questions and activities, Ellen did an English lesson with the seventh graders. Before she worked with them, the seventh graders completed assignments Ellen had given them the day before, or they used the time as a study hall to complete work from other classes. During the spring semester, they occasionally worked on science lessons with the sixth graders.

Second period, Ellen taught an ESL lesson to the sixth graders who were divided into two levels. She also taught three seventh graders. She spent about 15 minutes with each group, give them a written assignment, and work with the next group. The seventh graders worked on an assignment Ellen gave them after their lesson first period. After working with each sixth grade group, she checked on the seventh graders' progress. When students finished their work they were allowed to go to the library to check out books. They brought them back and read in class. Ellen was the least satisfied with her instruction during second period. One problem was that the seventh graders were so far ahead of the sixth graders that Ellen could not develop lessons that would incorporate both groups. After one observation in January, Ellen told me:

I felt so disorganized this morning. [Disorganized? Why?] Well, I didn't have enough for the four seventh graders to do. The problem is that they are at such a high level in their ESL book. Two weeks ago we did the present perfect. Now the book is using it in exercises.

They need more practice before they will be sure about using it. I have to be able to explain things to them, but I can't. I have to teach the sixth graders.

Eventually, Ellen reached a compromise. She rotated the time she worked with the groups and worked with the seventh graders first two days a week. When she could not work with them first, she had written assignments for them to do that reviewed previous work or corresponded to the lesson she did with them first period.

Third period the students had gym, and Ellen had planning. She used the hour to run off materials or grade papers. Sometimes I helped her. When Ellen had time, I interviewed her.

Fourth period was split. Half an hour of instruction, lunch, and another half hour of instruction. Ellen used this period to do social studies activities with the sixth graders. That included map and graph skills as well as readings. She developed maps for geography and most of the social studies readings and activities. Lessons included topics such as the history of Southeast Asia, a unit on George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, a unit on slavery and the Civil War, and the U.S government and elections.

Fifth period Ellen taught mathematics to the sixth graders. She also had seventh and eight graders for ESL. Once she did the mathematics lesson and gave the sixth graders their assignment she did an English lesson with the other students.

Last period was language arts for the sixth graders. Ellen worked on the Mastery Skills Test Language Arts Objectives on which the students were to be tested in April. She developed units on such topics as parts of speech and synonyms and antonyms, and also worked on reading comprehension skills. She

taught the sixth graders in large group and then worked with the other students as the sixth graders finished their assignments.

Ellen's Instructional Strategies

Ellen's teaching was characterized by the development of shared meanings with her students. The primary focus was the academic vocabulary and concepts that her students would be expected to know once they were placed in the regular academic program. However, Ellen also helped her students to understand the answers to the many questions they had about life in the United States and in Urbanville in particular. In this section, I discuss nine practices Ellen used to develop shared meanings with her students. I identified these practices based on observations taken from January through April. The first excerpt I recorded in January. I observed the first two periods and briefly interviewed Ellen after the observation. My protocol for this two-hour observation was 15 single-spaced typed pages. Ellen was teaching a lesson from a two-week unit on the solar system. She was preparing her students for a field trip to the local planetarium. The purpose of the lesson was to review concepts and words her students had been studying. During the lesson I identified several of strategies Ellen used to negotiate meaning and facilitate her students' comprehension of the lesson: modeling the task the students were to do, using visuals, monitoring students' comprehension, and providing opportunities to complete the tasks correctly and use the language they were learning. I discuss these and other strategies below.

8:05 a.m. Ellen hands out five mimeographed sheets. "I want you to put these pages in order. These are for our field trip to the museum Friday. We need to study a little bit to understand what we will see."

Several students say to Ellen, "I don't see the page."

Ellen holds up her first page and points to the number. The students find the number on their sheets. [Once all the students have all five pages,] Ellen says, "What comes after 30?"

The students respond, "31."

"And after 31?"

One student says, "33."

"33?"

"No, 32."

"Good. Now, after 32?"

"33," the students answer.

"Good. Bon. How do you spell 30?"

Bon answers, "t h i r t y."

"Good. Last pages." Ellen holds up 34 and 35.

Bon is sitting looking at the pages on his desk. "Oh man, my gosh, this is too much."

"Bon," says Ellen, "That is not too much."

[Ellen goes to Bon and shows him where the page number is located.] He starts to put his pages together. Ellen walks around the room to staple papers and to check that they are in order.

"Oh fudge," says Ellen. "The stapler broke."

"Fudge?" say several students. Several girls giggle. Ellen asks the students what fudge means. They talk about candy. Ellen tells them it's something they can say when they are frustrated, when something breaks, when they are stuck on a problem. Ellen hand out paper clips.

"Take one and pass it back."

The students repeat Ellen's sentence like a chant. "Take one and pass it back. Take one and pass it back." They stop when the last person in each row has a clip.

In the above segment, Ellen reviewed numbers in English, had the students practice putting pages in order, taught them an idiomatic expression, and gave them practice with a direction they will hear often in the mainstream classrooms. Additionally, she checked to make sure that all students had the papers in order and gave Bon just enough help so that he was able to sort the papers himself. Although these activities might be insignificant in a mainstream classroom, they also were important aspects of Ellen's program. She provided students meaningful practice of the language structures they were learning and introduced skills they needed to survive in regular classes.

Periodic review

Since Ellen's students were learning much of the content curriculum for the first time, Ellen incorporated comprehension checks and reviews of previous

vocabulary and concepts into her lessons. In the above excerpt, Ellen used the pages of the handouts to do a quick review of numbers. By incorporating frequent reviews into her lessons, Ellen provided her students with opportunities to practice the language they were learning. In the excerpt below, Ellen reviews science concepts the students learned during the previous two weeks.

Ellen holds up the handout and points to the picture on the first page. "What is this?"

Several students answer, "Earth."

"How do we know?"

"It says," says Nohm.

"Where," says Ellen.

"Here." Students hold up their papers and point to the title "Chapter 2, The Earth in the Solar System." [Ellen scans the room to make sure all students have found the title.]

"Good." "What shape is it?"

Students respond, "Round."

"Round? I thought it was flat, like a map."

"No Ms. Ellen. It's like a ball, like the globe we saw."

"Good," says Ellen.

"Now, how do we know that the earth is round?"

Tran says, "It turns and the sun goes down." [Other students volunteer answers and the class discusses ways to tell that the earth is round.]

Ellen continues, "A long, long time ago, people thought that the earth was flat. Who helped us to learn it was round?"

The students reply in unison, "Columbus." "Good. Sary, what did Columbus do?"

Sary responds, "He sail round and round the earth."

Incorporation of language arts skills into the content curriculum

Ellen incorporated the skills she was teaching in language arts into her content curriculum. Getting information from the title, for example, was a skill Ellen was working on in ESL. That skill would be tested on the Mastery Skills Test. Ellen provided the students meaningful practice by incorporating questions into the science lesson that make the students use the title to find the answer. She also provided an example of how the skill could be applied to readings other than language arts.

Active mediation of language and concepts

During my initial observations in Ellen's classroom, I identified a problem she had to resolve daily: making words and concepts understandable to her students. Tikunoff (1985) called this problem the mediation of language. When LEP students are learning in English, they often do not understand the words the teacher uses. Effective teachers of LEP students are able to monitor their students' comprehension and then mediate instruction by making language and concepts understandable to the students. Questioning, class discussion, use of student's prior experience and culture, and the use of the aide to translate terms and concepts into the student's native language were techniques Ellen used to mediate language and construct shared meanings. When good materials were not available, Ellen developed her own. For example, when Ellen realized that her students did not know that the earth was round, she studied science books from earlier grades and did several demonstrations with the class to help them develop that concept. The reference to the globe was to one demonstration Ellen had done the week before.

The excerpt that follows is from the January lesson discussed above. In this segment, Ellen and her students actively negotiate shared understandings of the language and concepts they are learning.

Ellen holds the handout up and reads the title pointing to each word.
"The Earth in our Solar System."

"I don't know," says one student.

Ellen explains the concept of solar system. They talk about the sun and the planets, earth, and what comprises a solar system. . . .

Ellen asks the students what they saw in the sky the night before.

[Their science homework was to go outside for fifteen minutes and tell Ellen what they saw in the sky.]

"What did you see last night, Proum?"

"The moon."

"What did you see, Nackry?"

"I saw stars."

"Anything else? Chanty?"

"I saw a plane."

"Is a plane really up in the sky like a moon?"

All the students say, "No."

Ellen reads the first sentence, then she asks, "What is the universe?"
There is silence.

"The universe is all you can see in the sky, millions and millions of stars and planets. All of that is called the universe. Everything in space is part of the universe. The earth is only a tiny part. . . ."

Bon has been thinking about the beginning part of the lesson. "Mrs. Ellen, why if earth round, people no walk, you know, like this." [He holds his hand up at an angle.]

"You mean why don't people walk at an angle?"

"Yeah."

[The students and Ellen briefly discuss why we stand up straight instead of slanted. Several students try to answer the question. Ellen adds that the world is so big the curve of the earth is very gradual. Since people are so small compared to the earth we aren't affected by the curve. For us the part of the earth we live on seems flat. But it is really not.⁶ Once Bon asks his question, other students ask questions they have.]

"Let's continue."

"What's the universe?" The students ask in chorus.

"Right. All the planets, the earth, the sun, moon, and stars. All we can see in the sky." Ellen takes the next two pages and holds them together. "Fix your papers so that they look like this." Then she gets the book the handout came from and shows the students the original picture. It is a colored picture of the solar system.

"Here is the sun." Ellen points to the picture. "And all the planets are going around the sun. Who can find earth?" The review of the solar system lasts several minutes.

Ellen goes back to the front of the room. "Remember what I told you yesterday? The sun is one million times bigger than earth. If the sun were hollow, empty inside, one million earth's could go inside." Ellen reads from the handout. She stops and asks, "What's the solar system?"

The students reply, "The sun and the planets."

"Right. What does size mean? Sur?"

Sur says, "How big it is."

"Very good, Sur. How big it is." One of the seventh graders gets a book from the shelf. He has been working on a report on Mars for his science class. He shows Ellen a picture. Ellen shows it to the class.

"Look. This is the sun. See this dot? That is the size of earth compared to the sun."

The students say, "Wow."

Ellen walks up and down the aisle showing them the picture.

Sur says, "The sun looks so small."

⁶ I was not able to hear all the students and did not transcribe the discussion verbatim. After the lesson, I asked Ellen to help me paraphrase what was said.

"Why," says Ellen.

"Because it is far away?"

"That's right." Ellen walks over to Noum. She touches her nose to his. "When Noum is close, he looks big." Ellen walks across the room.

"When Noum is farther away, he looks smaller."

"Come here, look." Ellen points out the window.

The students come to the window and look out.

"Look at that car, the blue one. How big does it look?"

Several students hold their hands about two feet apart.

"About two feet," Ellen says. "Is it really that small?"

"No."

Bon says, "Look that man. He tiny." Everyone laughs.

"Is he really that short?"

"No." Several more students point to things down the street. They return to their seats.⁷

[The review lesson on the solar system lasted until 9:00. Ellen continued the discussion about distance. The reading also included a paragraph on continents, the oceans, and how big earth must be to have all that on its surface. The students completed several exercises and filled in a chart comparing the planets. They practiced saying the names of the planets and practiced spelling. At the end of the period, Ellen had the students share pictures they drew the day before. The students each read about a planet and had tried to imagine what the people or beings would be like if there were life on that planet. The students had to answer questions from other students about their pictures, and tell why they drew certain features on their beings.]

The lesson Ellen presented contained many of the concepts that the students would study in their mainstream science class. A regular science teacher would not have presented the information as Ellen did. Ellen continually checked for vocabulary comprehension and had discussions with the students to make sure they understood both the English words and their underlying concepts. She encouraged them to ask any questions they had when they were learning the information. Questions such as "why don't we walk slanted if the earth is round"

⁷ During the March interview, Ellen told me that she had done the solar system unit again. One of the new students was having problems understanding why the sun looked so small if it were really so big. One of Ellen's previous students took the new student to the window and taught him using the same examples Ellen had used the year before.

were common in Ellen's class. As students asked their questions and initiated topics for discussion, Ellen and her students worked to develop shared understandings. By listening to students' questions, Ellen was able to learn what they did and did not know.

Ellen also practiced good ESL techniques while she was teaching the science lesson. She repeated or rephrased correct answers the students gave her to make sure all the students heard the correct answer. Another technique she used was that of defining words she felt her students might not know immediately after she used the word. In the above lesson, for example, Ellen used the word "hollow" and immediately said "empty inside." Ellen's intonation when she said the word and a slight pause after the word indicated to the students that the definition was coming. Students could listen for the definition. If they did not understand either, they asked the meaning.

Ellen provided opportunities for her students to practice the vocabulary they were learning during the lesson. Other strategies she used included demonstrating the meaning of words, checking students' comprehension, and making sure the students had the right place when she was reading.

Meaningful drill and practice

Later that day, I observed an ESL lesson. Ellen was working with group one on the difference between need to and want to.

"What's the difference between want and need?" The students take turns giving examples and discussing what they think the difference is. Satisfied that they know the difference, Ellen calls on different students to make up sentences using the two phrases. "Narky, what do you want?" "I want to see my grandmother." "What do you need?" "Tickets for the plane."

Noum, who is in group two, comes up and asks a question about their assignment. Ellen works with him for about 30 seconds. He returns to his seat and continues working.

"Monthi, What do you want?"

"A car."

"What do you need to do to get money to buy the car?"

"I need to get work."

"Tran, what do you want?"

"I want to get back my country."

"What do you need to do?"

"Kill the Viet Cong."

"Gosh, you need something big."

"Yeah, a whole army."

"How about immediately, right now, what do you want?"

Tran thinks a minute, then smiles. "I want candy."

One of the seventh graders says, "Johnny wants a girlfriend."

Johnny says, "No way. Roberto wants to know this girl's name."

Ellen says, "I think you need a friend with a smaller mouth."

Everyone laughs.

Ellen goes to the board. She writes "I want to _____," and

"I want _____." She points to the first sentence. "If we have this sentence, I want to _____ with the verb, that shows something we want to do." She points to the next sentence and says, "I want _____." Here we add a noun. Something I want."

[Ellen randomly calls on students. They have to fill in the blank she points to. She erases "want" and writes "need." She asks different students to complete the sentence. Then she starts substituting different nouns for the subject I: The girls need, The boy needs, we need. Students get confused selecting the correct verb form for singular and plural nouns.]

Pran says, "The girl need a water. No. The girl need water."

Ellen says, "Isn't English confusing. I think it's really dumb. When the subject is singular, you add 's' to the verb. If it's one person, you add 's.' When it is a plural noun, you add 's' to the noun and take the 's' off the verb." [Ellen writes a few sentences on the board and explains the rule again.. She writes a plural noun and asks what the verb would be "need" or "needs." She does this for several more sentences. Then the students work on the written exercise in their books and Ellen works individually with students.]

In the above lesson, the students created their own sentences using "need" and "want." That activity is a standard ESL format for meaningful drill and practice. Another technique was the substitution drill she used when the students changed the nouns and provided the correct verb form. Such drills are like games, and help students develop the correct language forms that ideally will become automatic for the students. Getting students to use language naturally is one goal of the ESL teacher. By providing practice with drills such as the one above, Ellen

helped her students to become comfortable speaking English and helped them learn to speak it correctly. By modelling the sentences, providing examples, and allowing for practice, Ellen demonstrated the use of good language teaching techniques (Riggenbach & Lazarton, 1991).

Monitoring and feedback

Monitoring and feedback were important aspects of Ellen's instructional program. She walked around the room during a lesson and made sure students were on the right page. She made sure they were doing the problem or the task right and provided corrective feedback so the students could correct their mistakes or complete something they were 'stuck on. During the lesson on the solar system, for example, she monitored the whole class four times, gave help to individual students that allowed them to finish the work themselves, and provided most students with feedback about their responses to her questions.

Individualized instruction

The comprehensive academic curriculum Ellen taught made it impossible for Ellen to individualize instruction. What Ellen did do, however, was work with students individually every day. After large group instruction, when students were completing their assignments, Ellen worked with individual students. She gave them extra help on skills they were having problems with, review materials they had not completely learned, or work with them when they had trouble completing the assignment. Sometimes, if several students were having the same problem she worked with them as a group.

Peer tutoring

Ellen encouraged her students to help each other learn the concepts and skills she presented. She let students work in pairs when they completed assignments and talk softly as long as they used English and talked about their work. Although

the students occasionally did use their native languages, usually it was to clarify a problem. Once the student having difficulty understood, the students usually switched back into English. The following excerpt from a mathematics class in April illustrates the way in which Ellen encouraged the students to help each other. Ellen handed out a worksheet with word problems on finding the area. The students had written the problems. Ellen edited them and made an activity for the class. Sear comes over to show me the problems she and Kiet wrote.

Mr. Kei walks around the room helping the sixth graders. He is speaking English. When they have a lot of difficulty understanding the problem, he uses [their native languages]. Ellen is at her desk going over a vocabulary test with the eighth graders.

Phar goes to Phoung's desk and explains a problem in Vietnamese. He translates the problem. The only word I understand is "square." Phoung tries to do the problem. He gets stuck. Phar shows Phoung what to do. Then Phar goes to Bon's desk and explains the same problem in English. "The square has four sides. How far around each side [Mathematics is Phar's best subject. He speaks several languages, and he often tutors the other students.]

Veth and Tran are working together and speaking in English. So are Sar and Deoung. Bon goes to Mr. Kei and asks him to explain the problem in [his native language]. He goes back to his seat and tells Phoung the answer in English. Phoung checks his work.

Bon works on problem 2. He turns to Phoung. "Two, find the area?" Phoung goes to Bon's desk. They discuss the problem. On his way back to his desk, he stops at Phar's desk and asks him a question in [their native language]. Phar goes back to Phoung's desk and reads the question aloud in English. He thinks about it. Then he explains the problem to Phoung in [their native language]. By the end of the period, most of the students have completed the word problem worksheet. Several have started on their math homework.

In addition to peer tutoring, Ellen also encouraged the students to present reports to the class. Five times during the year I observed seventh graders giving a science lesson to the sixth graders. By providing the mainstreamed LEP students with the opportunity to practice their oral presentation skills, Ellen helped her students to develop their ability to express themselves in English and confidence in their ability to do so.

Incorporating student experiences

Ellen incorporated her students' experiences into the curriculum. She did this especially when she was working to develop concepts the students needed to learn before she could teach the required curriculum. One example occurred when Ellen taught the unit on Southeast Asia. She read numerous books and wrote a ten-page typed paper on the history of Southeast Asia, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and the Philippines. She incorporated map skills into the unit and also found a reading on Southeast Asian weather patterns, complete with maps, from a fourth grade text. The paper was at an appropriate reading level for her students. I did not observe several of the first lessons Ellen did, although I did observe two of the final lessons. I asked her in a March interview to tell me what she had done.

Before we could do the unit, we had to learn what a continent was, and country, and borders. That was a hard one. It was another assumption I had made. [What?] That the kids knew what a map was, what it represented. They had never been taught how to use maps or globes for that matter. Some had never even seen one. So, we talked about leaving Vietnam or Cambodia and crossing the border into another country. How did they know they were in Cambodia? How did they know they were in Thailand? Was there a big fence? Basically, I made them think about their own experience and then use their experience to understand the idea of countries.

They said that the guide told them they were in Thailand. I said, "What if you had been alone? How would you have known? Someone, I think Deoung said, "We cross river." So we got into the business of the Mekong as a border between Laos and Cambodia. Also, Laos and Vietnam. In part [of the area] it is the border between two countries. In part [of the area] it divides the country. Then we got into lines on a map: which lines show borders and which lines show rivers and how to tell them apart. What I had to do was help them make the connection between something real that they had experienced and its symbolic representation on the map.

We reviewed continents, countries, and states. They said in their countries, they either did not have states or provinces. Or the kids didn't know, which is the same thing. So we found out how their countries were divided. Then we went back to the maps to see what lines indicates states and provinces. The weather unit on Southeast Asia fit in really well, and they got to practice their map skills reading the weather maps.

Using teachable moments

Ellen believed in using teachable moments. Opportunities for teaching a language lesson included questions students asked, things they brought to school, and observations the students made about things they had seen in their community or on television. One of Ellen's teachable moments is taken from my journal. I reconstructed this episode with Ellen's help. I got there just after the lesson. The students were getting ready for gym. Togethered we tried to recapture the moment.

The spider crawled up Bon's arm, then Noum's, then Tuc's. "Please God," thought Ellen, "Don't let the spider bite them."

"It okay Ms. Ellen," Douen sensed her teachers uneasiness. "She good spider."

"She?" asked Ellen as she looked at seemingly asexual spider.

"Look. Inside babies." Douen points to the spider's swollen belly.

"Look Ms. Ellen." Bon points to a small white dot near the spider's tail. "Look." Gently pinching the dot between his index finger and thumb, Bon slowly moved his hand six inches. A silky, barely visible thread connected Bon's fingers to the spider. "How you call that Ms. Ellen?" Bon's nose indicated the thread.

"Silk," said Ellen. "Silk."

"Silk," repeats Bon. "Silk. How write Ms. Ellen."

Ellen walked to the board and drew a spider. She wrote the word silk. The day's English lesson had begun.

Later, Ellen and I discussed the teachable moment and the dilemma it posed for Ellen. Ellen shared her philosophy with me about why she feels such moments are important. Later, in a March entry from her journal she expresses her concern about using the teachable moments.

You know, teaching these students is not just a matter of implementing a standard curriculum. Somehow, I have to help these kids make the connection between the what I have to teach them and their needs and experiences. Lessons like the one with the spider enable my students to share their knowledge and learn English to express concepts they already had. As far as I am concerned, if such lessons help my students learn English and learn science then they are appropriate.

March entry. I guess my major concern centers around the idea of wasting time. Is getting the kids talking about themselves and what they know wasting time? I don't think so. But, what if they fail the Mastery Skills Test because we talked about spiders or the Southeast Asian teachers instead of sticking to subject verb agreement? I want them to pass. They deserve to be in seventh or even ninth grade. I just don't know.

In late January, after one of my observations, I summarized how I perceived Ellen's instructional practices.

Ellen teaches like a conversation. Class flows. Students are reprimanded if necessary, yet there is little disruption of events. New words and concepts are constantly being clarified. Children constantly use English to elicit information from Ellen or from each other. The students are a part of the process. They contribute information. They ask questions and at times direct where the discussion goes. Questions are rarely rejected unless they are off track or pertain to some other work, not the task at hand. "Dialogue," that's the word; Ellen's teaching is a dialogue.

Ellen's Perceptions of her Program

I interviewed Ellen several times during the spring. The year after I conducted my research, I conducted a follow-up interview. I wanted to understand better what Ellen thought she was doing and why. The excerpts below are from those interviews. As with Jennifer, I found a good fit between Ellen's subjective interpretation of what she was doing and the objective reality I was documenting in my fieldnotes.

Teaching content areas. At first, I thought teaching content was kind of silly. I was supposed to be teaching English. I was just doing content to fulfill [county] requirements. After about six weeks, I started to get an inkling of the fact that these kids didn't need to know how to go to a grocery store and say, "May I have three pieces of candy?" They needed to know what science was and they needed to know what math was. Then I really got into it.

[Got into what?]

Teaching content. I pretty much stopped using the ESL book. It was taking up too much time, and it really wasn't what these kids needed. Sure, they need to know how to speak English, but they can learn how to speak English when they are talking about amoebas or maps or if the world is round. It's still English, but it's things they can use in the classroom. The kids, even the seventh graders, they didn't know what

science was, but they were in the seventh grade science classroom doing . . . life science and biology, and in health. . . . They didn't even know the meaning of the word "health."

[How did you develop your curriculum?]

First, I went to Rita and asked her. [The previous] year she and the other ESL teacher had both taught content. Rita had the sixth grade and all new students. She had the Heath science and the Holt social studies series. We had the sixth grade books and there was a teacher's book. So, I went in, and I didn't know what I was doing. Rita gave me boxes of mimeographed sheets and things she had used. She and the other teacher had just gone straight through the book.

Social studies. In social studies, I started out on page one. The class and I read page one together. No one knew what the heck anything was on page one. They didn't know words like "history" or "culture," or anything like that. It didn't take me too long to figure out that I wasn't going to use that book. Although we did cover chapter one during the year.

[What did you do?]

I decided that what happened in Greek culture wasn't what the kids needed. They didn't have anything to compare it to, to relate it to. I developed a unit on Southeast Asia and tried to do something showing the history of Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and the Philippines. We talked about the world using maps and globes and focusing on the countries the kids came from. Instead of talking about the Egyptian civilization, we talked about Ankor Wat, when it was built and how it was built and things like that.

[Where did you get the materials?]

I did a lot of research and reading and developed them myself. My master's in ESL came in handy for that. I developed word lists and comprehension exercises based on the content. Who cares what we study so long as the kids get the concepts they will need to pass their tests and do well in the real world.

[Real world?]

That's what I call the regular academic classes.

Science. [What about science?] I've done weather. I found a neat book with a chapter on monsoons and weather patterns of Southeast Asia. I talked to the [seventh grade] science teacher and I got the seventh grade science book. The teacher was going to write out a list of terms. He never did. You know, a list of the basic terms the kids would need. I've been able to figure it out with the book. We are doing a unit on classification of nonliving and living things, animals, and plants. The main thing in science is that I want my students to get a taste of organization and classification. I'm going to have to develop the materials. The book really is for American sixth graders who have already had the basics for five years. There are 30 chapters in the book. We'll be lucky to finish three.

Mathematics. [What about mathematics?] At the beginning of the year, I was absolutely panicked. I can't add and subtract, multiply and divide--couldn't. At least that was the idea I had about myself. And how can you teach somebody something if you don't understand it yourself? And if you know you don't understand it? I was really lucky having Mr. Kei. He has taught me how to teach math. In the beginning, he helped me with lesson plans. He didn't really take over. He wouldn't. He kept telling me that I had to learn how to teach math. I worked with him during planning, and watched him teaching the kids. He taught me how to explain things to the kids. Basically, I feel like I know what I am doing. Sometimes, though, I know I'm not explaining well. Then I have Mr. Kei reinforce what I have taught. Sometimes, when the kids are really having problems, I have him individually tutor the kids in their own language.

One concept they really had trouble with was borrowing in subtraction. I assumed they knew it. I discovered they were making mistakes, and that the mistakes were consistent. . . . [Also] I still have a lot of students having trouble with multiplication and division. Before they can multiply 8×7 , they still have to go 8×1 , 8×2 , 8×3 , 8×4 [until they get to 8×7]. So, I've set up folders for the kids that are still having trouble with multiplication, taking them from the very simple problems like 1×1 on up to $2400 \times$ one or more numbers. They work on that in addition to what we do in class.

Someone else who has helped me is my husband. He's an engineer. Between him and Mr. Kei, I just may conquer math.

Goals. Oh, you asked what my goals were for the kids. The main thing that I have to do for the kids is to prepare them to do work in the real world in this school. In order to do that, I have to try and make up for the last 12 or 13 years or whenever, when they didn't have a chance to go to school, [and weren't in this country] which means going back to the basics and helping them learn concepts they need. That's number one. Then, number two, teach them as much as I can. No. Have them learn as much as they can about almost anything, because nobody else is going to do it. And, take time, and make sure that they understand, again, the basics. And the third, which is maybe the most important, is to try to make them feel good about themselves, as individuals and as people.

Computers. [Ellen kept a journal during the spring. At the end of the year, she gave me copies of what she had written. The following excerpt from a March entry explains why Ellen did not use the computers or the materials developed by Connors.]

In the computer room today, Sear was working with Bon. They were doing something with the main idea. Sear was getting everything quickly. Bon was sitting there passively pushing the button Sear told him to. I sat with Bon and had him read the story [on the computer screen] aloud, then the choices. One selection was about clocks and showed two electric clocks. The selection was "Three ways Clocks are Helpful."

One sentence was about how clocks are used in schools. Instead of choosing the answer about clocks having many uses, Bon choose the one that said clocks are used in schools. . . . It was the only one he could relate to.

One picture showed two hour glasses and one sentence said "These clocks are: new, old, and something else." Good grief! Hour glasses are not clocks in the first place. My kiddos (and probably most American kids) would certainly not know they were used for telling time--unless they're Scrabble addicts. How many other meaningless, confusing things are there on the computer?

I don't really approve of [the kids working alone] on the computers. If the students are going to be confused, I want to be in charge of it. At least I can discover the cause of the confusion and try to clear it up.

In addition to the computer graphics and software being confusing and inappropriate for some of her students, Ellen believed that the time was wasted getting to the computer laboratory and setting up the computers. The laboratory was on the second floor of the main building near Rita's room. There were only three computers, and only six to nine students could use the laboratory at once. Since students could not go anywhere in the building without adult supervision, that meant that the only time Ellen could use the computers was in the afternoon when Mr. Kei could take the students to the laboratory. Ellen also felt that mathematics and language arts were more important than taking the students to the computer laboratory.

Ellen's Rules for Teaching LEP Students

In addition to the instructional practices I identified, Ellen had two rules she tried to follow. She developed these during the year and shared them with me in the interview I had with her in the spring after I completed my fieldwork. I was working on the analysis of the data and had some questions I wanted Ellen to clarify. Although Ellen had never taught content area subjects before, she had specific ideas about how such content materials should be presented to non-English speaking students. She used her experiences as a teacher and her

professional training in ESL to construct a program that she felt meet the needs of her students. Ellen also talked with other teachers and read textbooks to find out what her students had missed and what they would need to succeed once they were mainstreamed. Yet, I still felt there was something missing; something hinted at in the data, but that I had not yet identified. During the interview, I asked Ellen how she determined what her students needed. Her response provided the clue I needed.

Listen and learn from the students

The main way [I learn what my students need] is that I listen to the kids. I like for them to talk. They can talk about almost anything. They do talk about anything, as long as it is in English. Or if they do speak in something else, as long as they translate what they are saying. Then, from what they are saying, I can find out what they need.

[Can you give me an example?]

In the ESL textbook, there is a lesson about some people who go to a restaurant. The students have to decide what kinds of plates and how many plates they need for such and such combinations of food. Do they need bowls? Knives or forks? Napkins?

[I remember. I worked with Vanneth on that lesson.⁸]

Well, I learned from Sary that most of the students only use bowls and spoons in their homes. They went through the motions of doing the lesson, but the exercises didn't make much sense to them. Also, they had no way of judging what they would need to eat, say, a steak. They had never eaten a steak before. . . . Southeast Asian food doesn't include giant pieces of meat. Meat is cut into small pieces. What I did was have a follow-up lesson in the home economics kitchen and have the kids learn the vocabulary by setting the table, using the utensils, and talking about them.

⁸ I had worked with Vanneth on that lesson. Vanneth was the student Rita mainstreamed who had a first grade level reading comprehension in English. Vanneth had never been to an American restaurant. He had no idea what most of the food was for which he was supposed to select china and silverware. He told me they used bowls and spoons. His mother used knives to prepare the food. Mostly it was cut in small pieces, cooked together and served in a bowl or on a plate everyone served themselves from. Vanneth wanted to know if it was okay to put ice cream in a glass. That was what he did at home. He had never seen some of the utensils in the exercise. He wanted very much to learn how Americans served their food.

Question: Do not make assumptions

Ellen knew from the first week of school that her students were different from any other group she had worked with. She also knew, as with teaching mathematics, what she did not know and what she needed to learn in order to do the kind of teaching she felt she should. This was an important quality that helped Ellen to develop her content-based English program. She was always looking and listening for any indication that she had made an inaccurate assumption about the students' knowledge level. During the spring interview, I asked Ellen about her ability to assess her students' needs. She said she learned by learning from her mistakes, especially by becoming aware of the incorrect assumptions she made about her students. Throughout this segment of that interview, she referred back to classes I had observed and documented during my study.

Last year I learned that I could not assume that they knew anything. Not that they know nothing, but that they didn't know the concepts and vocabulary that the books assume they know. I also learned that we have to spend a lot more time on one subject or one unit than they would in the regular classroom. . . . As we went through the subjects [I learned what my assumptions were.] I had no idea, even though I knew the kids were refugees, that they hadn't had much schooling. To my Western mind it didn't occur to me that they wouldn't know the world was round or how to use a ruler. As I was working with the kids, things like that would just come up, and I would discover something I was taking for granted that the kids just didn't understand.

I guess one of my first lessons was when I started teaching social studies in September. Remember? We read the first page of Chapter One on Greek culture and history. My kids didn't understand anything. They didn't know who the Greeks were, or what culture or history were.

Then there was the two-week unit I taught on the solar system. I found that many of the kids did not know that the world was round. They had never thought about it before.

[What did you mean?]

The sixth graders I had had just came from Southeast Asia. They had been in refugee camps. Some had had a little English instruction. None had ever studied science. They had never needed it in their lives before. That was really going back to the basics.

[What do you mean by basics?]

Things that kids in America have the chance to pick up before they get to school, by watching Sesame Street or things like that.

[What did you do?]

I had to go back to the elementary science books and try and figure when and how American kids learned that concept. We did simple demonstrations, for example, with the globe and a flashlight, to learn that the earth was round and that it rotated. The flashlight was the sun. Then we talked about the solar system and what an eclipse was. After two weeks of work on the universe, the moon, the sun, and the solar system, Bon says, "Missy don't Sun eat Moon in eclipse?"

And remember that lesson I did on evaporation. At the end Bon told me that the rainbow drank the water. That was his only experience. He saw the lake level go down after the rainbow came out. He had never seen evaporation. And Phoung, his grandfather had told him rain was made by the oxen sweating and their sweat going up to the sky. That's when I started reading Piaget again. I realized that some of my kiddos were still at the concrete operational stage. I had to develop concrete experiences for them to develop some of the concepts I wanted them to learn. Couldn't you just see them in a seventh grade science class arguing with the teacher that the sun ate the moon!

That math lesson on perimeters last year. Talk about teacher made confusion. Here we had been using rulers all year. The kids loved making straight lines. When I started the unit on perimeters and area, I realized they didn't really know how to measure. First thing I tried was using the metric system, since the aide told me that was what they used in Southeast Asia. Then I realized that the students had no concept of zero or measurement. Everyone has rulers in the refugee camps, right? The rulers I gave them in September were the first ones they had seen. Here it was January, and I was just realizing that the kids really don't know how to use rulers. So, I went back to the elementary math books and learned how the concepts of measurement and zero were presented. We went all over the school counting steps, measuring halls and the building with yardsticks, measuring things in the classroom with rulers. We measured with string and then measured the string. Then we did the unit on area and perimeter.

I also learned that I can't do it all. Some things some of the kiddos will never learn, maybe their children, but not them.

Ellen's Perceptions of her Students

Ellen's willingness to listen and learn from her students resulted in Ellen having a fairly accurate understanding of her students abilities and the problems they would have once they were in the regular academic program. She became very concerned about the students being mainstreamed without having the

language and concepts necessary to learn in the regular academic program. Many of the mainstreamed students came to Ellen for ESL two hours per day, so she learned first hand what problems they were having in the regular academic classes. Early in January, the seventh grade mathematics teacher came in while I was in Ellen's class. She was very concerned about Kali Soulth, who had been mainstreamed in October. Soulth was one of Ellen's seventh grade students.

Ellen, Soulth got a D in math. Her parents have sent me a note. They are very concerned. For them a D is failing. Soulth doesn't seem to understand. If she gets the answers wrong on her homework or test, she does the problems over. She doesn't seem to understand that even if she gets them right, it doesn't count.

Ellen sat with the mathematics teacher and wrote down the concepts Soulth was having trouble with. She suggested that M. Kei could help Soulth with mathematics when she was in Ellen's class. Ellen and the mathematics teacher went to Rita's class to talk with Mr. Kei and discuss possibilities for getting Soulth a mathematics tutor. In a January interview, Ellen expressed her concern to me.

You know, I am really worried about the kids going from Rita's or my self-contained class immediately into the mainstream. They really don't have the concepts they need to survive in the regular classrooms.

[Can you give me an example.]

We're still having a debate about whether or not the world is round. Bon looks at me like I am crazy when I say it is. He thinks the world is flat. Did I tell you about my idea?

[No.]

I think the kids need to have a solid understanding of concepts. They need a month or one 9-week marking period of content area preparation. I told Bill. You know what he said? That I was "selling the kids short. They can do more than you give them credit for." I told him about Soulth and about Vanneth being mainstreamed with a first-grade level of reading comprehension. He said that Rita knows whether they are ready or not. "She has experience."

Vanneth's English teacher is getting an ulcer. Vanneth is in standard English where they are editing their own papers. He doesn't understand the work. He can't even write a complete sentence. His teacher came to me last week. "Ellen, we're working on the past perfect. Can you help

Vanneth in ESL." I told her Vanneth has never studied grammar in his own language. He doesn't even know what a verb is.

The kids need an intensive course on content vocabulary. They need to learn what a map is and how to use it, and how to use a globe. What does science mean, or equal. I told Bill the things I am seeing with Vanneth and the others who come to me. He said we don't have money to hire another teacher. I told him to send them to me before they are mainstreamed.

His response was that "The teachers can work with the kids."

Not the way the real world is. I know. I had 33 American kids and 4 refugee kids in my standard English class last year. I barely had time to complete the required work with the American kids. The refugee kids were totally neglected.

When I went to Rita to see about Vanneth being reassigned to my program, I told her what his English teacher had said.

You know what Rita said, "He must be goofing off." When she first mainstreamed him she told me, "I'm sending you a student who is wonderful. You can use him for an aide."

Not with a first grade level of reading comprehension I can't.

Actually, I'm not sure how I would teach the sixth grade, my ESL students and the content area program the kids would need if they were sent to me before they were mainstreamed. It's a good idea though. Maybe next year.

Ellen did prepare her students for their work in the regular academic classes.

All but four of her students passed their requirements and were placed in the regular academic program. Ellen's students constantly came back to tell her what she had prepared them for, and what she needed to include in her instructional program. During an interview the year after I conducted my study, Ellen told me how her students were helping her redesign her academic curriculum.

This year the kids I placed in seventh grade have helped because they come back and say, "Ms. Ellen, you didn't teach us this. How we going to do this?" Then they show me the assignment they have to do.

One thing the kids have told me is that I need to do a lot more with maps. The teachers use them a lot in social studies. The woman who works in the supply room has a granddaughter in fourth grade. She tells me what the fourth graders are doing. Anyway, her granddaughter is learning the map of the United States: rivers, the states, all the capitals. This year I did a unit with my kids on the U.S. I had them learn all the states and the capitals I felt were important. We found out what states all the kids relatives were in, and the kids learn those capitals, plus the U.S. and state capitals. Before I did that though, I did the unit on Southeast Asia.

They learned the basic concepts of country, continent, border, like I did last year. Then we studied the United States map.

Science is another area I have really expanded. One thing I didn't do was science experiments. The seventh graders have labs and have to write up experiments. In sixth grade this year we're doing simple experiments with watching how a seed develops. In class we were talking about plants, dicotyledons and monocotyledons. So we took the bean, the dicot, and we watched how it sprouted and the leaves divide. . . . We planted corn, the monocot, and watched it. I figured the kids need to know what an experiment is and what observation means. So, I am having the kids write pseudo scientific reports.

Oh, I dumped all the leftover seeds in a dish and forgot about them. They developed mold. Mold doesn't come in the book for three or four more chapters, but we got into mold and why it was there. So I taught some lessons on mold.

This year we are making a classification chart. We started with the animals. . . . During the year we have increased our chart. Now it is like a family tree, sort of, where everything is spreading out from the original nonliving and living. [Is it a chart like on a bulletin board?] No, it's on huge sheets of paper. I just put it up on the board. . . . like a review. Every time we learn something new, we go back to the living and non-living, go over what we have learned, and see where the new item goes. The kids have their own papers with the chart on them.

The next thing is going to be flowers and pollination. You know, the good stuff. Then we are going to do vision and talk about the eyes. I'm putting that in now because two students are going to get glasses. I'm the only one who has worn glasses in the class up to now.

The seventh graders told me I needed to do more with fractions and factors. Last year Mr. Kei taught that. He's not with us anymore. My husband helped me figure out a systematic way of finding all of the factors. And I think the kids got it, and they know how to do it--factor trees and getting prime numbers and all that. And I know how to do it too. It was really neat. It was like figuring out a puzzle. We worked together, and we had a lot of fun too.

The other thing the seventh graders suggested and I am doing more of are word problems. [I try] to give them [the sixth graders] strategies for finding out what is essential in a problem even if they don't understand the vocabulary.

I am farther behind this year than I was last year, but I have included more. Then again, I think that maybe Mr. Kei and I were going too fast. This year I make sure they get it before we move on.

Ellen's Instructional Program: A Summary

Ellen's experiences teaching English in Middle East and teaching English in the regular academic program had given her insights into the academic

requirements her students would need to meet once they were placed in the regular academic program. Based on her understandings, she worked to develop a comprehensive content-based English program. She identified the English language and academic skills and concepts her students never learned because they had not been in school. Her primary goal was for her students to understand and be able to use what she taught them. Additionally, she wanted them to succeed once they were mainstreamed.

For Ellen teaching was a process of dialogue, reflection, and inquiry, and her students' and their concerns were an integral component of that process. The program that evolved in Ellen's classroom was not static. She did not follow a set curriculum. Rather, as she learned what her students did not know, she adapted her curriculum to address those needs. She also interacted with other teachers and students to learn as much as possible about what she called "life in the real world" of the regular academic program. Ellen's willingness to listen to and learn from her students, her use of the mainstreamed students as informants, and her acceptance and use of their suggestions enabled Ellen to develop and improve her content based English curriculum. One result was that Ellen met all the goals of the official CBE Program.

Similarities Between Jennifer and Ellen

Jennifer taught kindergarten and first graders and Ellen taught sixth graders who ranged in age from 12 to 14. Despite the different academic levels of the students, their programs were similar in many ways. Both taught English using the content areas of mathematics, language arts, social studies and science. Each teacher worked to create a comprehensible learning environment for her students. Jennifer used manipulatives, multi-sensory activities, and a curriculum that centered around themes and integrated vocabulary, concepts, and skills across the

curriculum. Ellen worked with her students to develop shared understandings about the content she taught. She listened to and learned from her students, identified what knowledge and experience they had that she could draw from to make the content more comprehensible, and developed activities and materials that matched her students knowledge and skills. In short, both teachers successfully mediated language and content and constructed shared understandings about the world with their students.

Jennifer and Ellen also developed what I called "classroom constructed" programs. They used interactions with students to frame and reframe their understanding of the Southeast Asian students, the skills they needed to develop, and the kinds of activities that would facilitate developing those skills. The programs they constructed resulted from a process of social interaction and dialogue commonly called teaching. They shared what they were doing with other teachers and gained ideas about how they might do things differently. Student needs, student responses to a lesson, student outcomes, their perceptions of what they wanted to do compared with what they believed they did were some of the sources Jennifer and Ellen used to derive meaning and guide practice. As a result, their classroom constructed programs emerged and changed as the teachers interacted with and came to understand their students. Unlike Mindy and Rita who delivered programs to which their students were expected to conform, Jennifer and Ellen constructed programs that conformed to the needs of their students.

Ellen and Jennifer worked to understand what it meant to be a Southeast Asian kindergartener or junior high student. They did this by observing their students; using prior experiences and knowledge to understand what they observed; reading books; and by actively seeking help from students, the

Southeast Asian aides, and the Southeast Asian parents. They understood how the CBE Program fit within district-wide curricula and testing requirements. Both read curriculum guides; observed in other classrooms; and talked with fellow teachers about what they were doing, the materials they were using, and the expectations their colleagues had for the American students. They developed their understandings of what it meant to be an LEP student in the regular academic programs and worked to create programs that helped their students develop the academic skills and knowledge they needed to succeed in the mainstream programs. They knew where their students needed to go and how to help them get there. On the way, they met all the goals of the CBE Program.

CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary of the Problem

A major assumption made by many educational reformers is that teachers are infinitely malleable and that significant educational change can occur simply by giving teachers information about ready-made programs developed by outside "experts." The belief in the malleability of teachers and the greater wisdom of experts has guided educational reform efforts and research to evaluate their effects since the early 1900s (Callahan, 1962). Those who assume that teachers are infinitely malleable are unlikely to attend to the role individual teachers actually play in program implementation.

The purpose of this study was to document and understand one content-based English language program from the perspective of four teachers who implemented it. Ethnographic data collection included over 900 hours of field work, 560 of which were in two schools located in an urban school district in the Southeast. Participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, and archival research were the primary research methods used.

The general question guiding my research was: Can teachers who do not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with their students teach those students, and if so, how and why? During the initial data collection and analysis, I identified three more questions:

- What do teachers mean when they say they are educating refugees, and do their definitions and expectations change over the year?
- What are the teachers' educational aims, and how are they reflected in classroom practice?

- Why do teachers who ostensibly are working from a common set of assumptions and who worked together to develop common program guidelines, end up implementing different programs?

As I worked to understand why the different programs developed, three final questions guided the study:

- What biographical, contextual, and organizational factors influence the teachers' construction of the programs they implemented?
- Of the many potential problems that the four teachers face every day, which do individual teachers recognize and act upon, which do they recognize and fail to act upon, and which do they fail to recognize at all?
- If differences exist in problem recognition or how the teachers work to solve problems, what accounts for those differences in perception and/or action?

In this chapter, I examine my findings in the light of previous research on this topic. I discuss implications the findings may have for educational reform in general and for programs to educate language minority students in particular. Implications for further research also are discussed.

Findings and Conclusions

Seven findings emerged from the data. The findings may not be generalizable to other settings but provide insight into the implementation process and may be helpful to researchers and practitioners who face similar problems in similar settings. Four findings relate to the implementation process in general. The other three specifically relate to the implementation of programs for language minority students.

1. Multiple system-related factors influenced program implementation at the classroom level. These factors included district policy and the lack of instructional leadership at the district and school levels.
2. Teachers do not attend to the same problems during program implementation. The kinds of problems teachers identify and work to resolve affect the implementation process.
3. When teachers do not share understandings about a new program or teaching, or the ways in which the program is to be implemented in their classrooms, they probably will implement the program in different ways.
4. Individual teachers actively construct the educational programs they present to their students and the programs they construct are not of equal quality.
5. The system plays a significant role in preventing teachers from educating language minority students.
6. Teachers do not provide language minority students with the same opportunities to come to understand the American culture and academic concepts and to learn English.
7. Teachers who do not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with their students can teach those students. However, the data suggests that such teachers may need to have certain qualities if they are to successfully enhance student learning.

District-Level Factors Affecting the Implementation Process

Three system-level factors affected the implementation of the CBE Program: the importance district officials placed on testing, competency-based instruction, and program documentation; the administrators' emphasis on compliance and image-making to demonstrate compliance; and the lack of instructional leadership.

Although these system-level factors influenced all four teachers, their effects were different.

Testing and program documentation.

Jennifer and Ellen recognized the value the administration placed on testing and understood that their students needed to develop test-taking strategies in order to pass district requirements for grade-level promotion. They built those strategies into their instructional activities. They read old copies of the tests and identified general concepts and skills on which their students would be tested. Neither one taught to the test. They developed comprehensive curricula that enabled students to enter the regular academic program.

Mindy understood that administrators would judge the effectiveness of her teaching by her students' test scores. Based on past experience, she knew the Southeast Asian students would fail. She chose to use the basic skills lists as her curriculum and taught using the basic skills practice tests. She developed an elaborate system to document that she had presented the information the county required. She kept comprehensive records and folders documenting the students' completion of practice tests. Her records demonstrated that she had covered the material and her students had, at some point, mastered the concepts. When her students received the lowest scores in the school for their grade level, Mindy's extensive documentation of student skills mastery placed the responsibility for her student's failure on the students themselves. Since they had mastered the concepts as demonstrated on their completed practice skills tests, it was their fault that they had forgotten the information at test time.

Rita did not incorporate test-taking skills into her curriculum or prepare her students to take the tests. She viewed her responsibility as presenting materials. It was up to the students to use the information she presented and pass the tests.

Compliance versus resistance

The Urbantown administrative emphasis on compliance affected the implementation of the CBE Program at the classroom level. Rita and Mindy used image-making strategies throughout the school year to demonstrate compliance with administrators directives. For them, compliance meant documenting that they had done what they were asked to and had used whatever materials they were given. As Rita said several times during the school year, "I know what the administration wants, and I give it to them." Mindy and Rita presented massive amounts of information to their students and extensively documented in their lesson plans the materials they "covered." Both constructed what looked like comprehensive programs. The supervisors judged Mindy and Rita by the image they created and considered them to be the best teachers in the program.

Jennifer and Ellen did not value compliance. They did, however, occasionally use image-making strategies to project an image of compliance. Their primary concern was to insure their students learned what was presented. As their programs evolved, they developed new strategies, created new materials, and adapted or created lessons for the materials they were given.

The dichotomy between Mindy and Rita's emphasis on compliance and Jennifer and Ellen's resistance to compliance is a common one in the public schools (Darling-Hammond, 1988). The former assumes that administrators "know best." In this study, no administrator had expertise in teaching refugees or non-English speaking students. The experts were the teachers, who through their work with the students and learning from their mistakes and successes had come to understand the kind of program their students needed. The country, however, devalued their craft knowledge and discouraged them from making instructional decisions. Mindy and Rita complied with their supervisors directives and were rewarded for doing so.

Jennifer and Ellen, on the other hand, who chose not to use confusing materials and ignored inappropriate directives were perceived as disorganized and less competent by their supervisors.

Lack of instructional leadership

In Chapters VI and VII, I showed that a single CBE Program did not exist. In fact each teacher developed her own program based on the problems to which she attended. Jennifer and Ellen constructed a program that closely paralleled the program described in the CBEP curriculum guide, yet Bill and Regina did not see them as appropriately implementing the CBE Program. Mindy and Rita, who fit the CBE Program to the institutional demands, were the ones who were most recognized and rewarded.

At the elementary school, for example, Mindy's articulated version of the program was accepted by the principal as the CBE Program. This was despite the fact that there was little correlation between what Mindy said she was doing and what she actually did. Data suggest two primary explanations for the principal's acceptance of Mindy's program. First, the principal did not have any training in bilingual education, teaching English as a second language, or teaching refugees. She lacked the knowledge to judge the teachers' practices. Because Mindy's articulated program projected the best image of program delivery, the principal adopted her version and attempted to impose it on the other teachers. Jennifer created an image of compliance with the principal's directives, yet she maintained the instructional program she had developed

Second, interviews and observations documented that the principal seldom visited the teachers' classrooms, and when she did, she did not observe them teaching. The first time I observed the principal in Mindy's classroom was in December. She briefly stopped to talk with the children, and left in five minutes.

The principal observed Jennifer teach a reading lesson once in February for 20 minutes. Jennifer was participating in a master teacher program and the principal was required to evaluate her teaching using a standardized teacher assessment instrument. In March, Jennifer complained that the principal had filled out her yearly evaluation without ever having observed her for the specific purpose of evaluating her as she implemented the CBE Program. The principal's response was "I don't have to observe you, I know that you are doing a good job."

The junior high school principal never observed Rita. What she knew about the program was what Rita told her. She did observe in Ellen's class three times because Ellen was in the process of receiving her state certification. Ellen was an experienced teacher but was new to the state and therefore had to go through the program. The principal said she did not feel qualified to evaluate the ESL methods and strategies Ellen used. As with Rita, what she knew about Ellen's program was what Ellen told her.

Bill, the Urbanville District Coordinator for Bilingual and ESOL Programs had no background in either bilingual education or ESOL. He was an English teacher who had been promoted to curriculum specialist and then Coordinator of the Bilingual/ESOL Programs. He said in one interview, "I don't know how to teach ESOL, but I know that it is different from teaching English. I hire the best teachers and I expect them to do a good job. They're professionals." In February, I learned that Bill did not hire teachers, although he could make recommendations to the principals. He had to work with whomever the principals assigned to the programs. Because Bill had no background in teaching ESOL, he had to rely on the teachers to tell him what training they needed and on outside consultants to provide the training the teachers requested. Although Bill visited the classrooms every other week, he was not there to observe the teachers teaching. Usually he stayed at the

school about half an hour, talked with each of the teachers, and made sure there were no problems of which he needed to be aware.

The principals' and Bill's lack of knowledge about teaching language minority students and their limited observations in the teachers' classrooms, affected their perceptions of the CBE Program teachers. Without other criteria to guide them, they focused more on form than content. Mindy and Rita also lacked knowledge. They constructed what can be called "bureaucratically correct" programs. They followed procedures and developed documentation systems that pleased their supervisors. The supervisors were impressed and rewarded the teachers accordingly. Bill asked Rita to help him prepare and present a paper about the CBE Program for the State Bilingual Conference. The principal selected Mindy to work on the elementary school's portfolio for the State's Innovative Program Award. When the school won the award, Mindy went with the principal to the state ceremony. In August, the principal recommended that Mindy give a half-day, pre-school workshop to all the bilingual and ESL teachers in the district. Bill agreed and required that all fifteen teachers attend her presentation. Mindy explained the instructional management system she had developed. The teachers jokingly called it "The-Cover-Your-Ass" method of instruction. The workshop was not well received by those who attended.

Jennifer and Ellen constructed educational programs that followed the CBE Program goals and objectives. They worked hard to identify and meet the needs of their students. Many of Jennifer's kindergarten students entered first grade able to read. Despite the instructional success of her program, the principal split the kindergarten and first grade the next year. In the fall, she forbade Jennifer to teach the kindergarteners any more than required pre-readiness reading skills. She explained that some of the students Jennifer promoted the year before were already reading, and

this had "messed up" the first grade teachers' curriculum. Ironically, six months earlier, the principal had written Jennifer a note praising her for her success at teaching the kindergarteners to read.

The Absence of Shared Understandings

Shared understandings among supervisors and teachers are an important factor influencing program implementation. These include common goals, common understandings of problems, and agreed upon lines of action to resolve those problems and meet the goals. No such understandings existed among the supervisors and teachers in the CBE Program. The involvement of the teachers in the initial planning process gave the impression that they were in fact operating as a unit under Bill's leadership as illustrated in the following quotation from the CBEP Curriculum Guide.

The teachers produced the CBE Program using Connor's Mastery Learning approach. This approach included curriculum mapping procedures which involved focused decision making resulting in: (a) strand identification and analysis; and (b) objectives clarification, organization, and emphasis. The decisions made by the teachers were captured by the curriculum mapping procedures used in [designing the CBE Program].

In the second stage of curriculum mapping the inter-individual differences among the teachers [were] resolved by them in a group process supervised by Bill, the ESOL director. This was the second phase of the team building process which resulted in: (a) curriculum consensus; (b) clarification of goals, strands, and objectives of the CBE Program; and (c) a data base of content, sequence, and emphasis information for use in the third stage. In the third stage, the material needs for instruction and for pupil evaluation are determined by the CBE Program staff (p. 9).

The consensus-building process described above never occurred, but Bill acted as though it had. He assumed the teachers shared his perceptions of the CBE Program and how it was to be implemented. Although the teachers had worked with Connors to produce the Curriculum Guide, no common understandings about implementing the curriculum had been worked out. Since the guide did not suggest

how to develop activities or teach facts or concepts, each teacher had to decide for herself how she would teach. To the best of her ability, each had to organize the school day, arrange the physical classroom, find and select materials, and decide how she would use the materials she selected.

Additionally, the district's top-down hierarchy stressed adherence to administrative policy and discouraged teachers from developing collegial relationships. Since no administrator assigned to supervise the CBEP teachers was knowledgeable about teaching ESL, they were not able to provide the teachers with the guidance they needed to implement the CBE Program. The result, as discussed in Chapters VI and VII, was that each teacher developed her own CBE Program based on her individual understandings. Without instructional leadership, the CBEP teachers had to find as best they could solutions to the problems they faced. Much like the teachers Lortie studied (1975), the work relationships of the CBEP teachers were "marked more by separation than by interdependence; . . . teachers [spent] most of their time working alone with a group of students in a bounded area" (p. 23).

The Role of the Individual in the Program Implementation Process

In this study, all four teachers actively constructed their classroom programs. They all identified instructional-, student-, classroom-, school-, administrative-, and district-related problems as they worked to develop and implement their instructional programs. They did not, however, reflect on identical aspects of the social world, but attended to different problems. Additionally, they developed different lines of action to resolve the common problems they identified.

Problems teachers worked to resolve

The primary problem Mindy and Rita worked to resolve was to meet administrators' demands and expectations, or at least to appear to have done so. The

maintenance of appearances was important. Their classroom practices emphasized compliance with the administrators' expectations. The programs they constructed were informed by school and district standards, curriculum guides, and administrative directives. Criteria Rita and Mindy used to evaluate themselves and their programs included presenting materials and information, documenting presentation of the information, using the instructional materials they were given, and complying with administrative requests. When the administration commended and rewarded them, the appropriateness of their decisions and their instructional practices were confirmed.

Jennifer and Ellen identified the skills and abilities their students would need to enter the regular academic program at the end of the year. Those skills were the core of their instructional program. They analyzed and improved their teaching practices, identified and worked to meet students' individual needs, and examined the correspondence between what they intended to teach with what they perceived the students actually learned. The differences between the four teachers, the problems they identified, and the actions they took to resolve those problems raises an issue that has only recently been addressed in the literature on program implementation. All teachers are not alike and do not see the world in the same way. Based on the findings of this study, consideration must be given to teacher differences and the effects of those differences on program implementation.

The teachers' social construction of reality

Research on teachers has contextualized teachers' shared understandings of their workplace. "The ultimate social organizational variable is the meaning that the organization has for those who work within it" (Rosenholtz, 1989, p. 3). One assumption underlying such a definition is that

teachers, like members of most organizations, shape their beliefs and actions largely in conformance with the structures, policies, and traditions of the workaday world around them. . . . Teachers in a particular school have always acted in certain ways, and they will go on acting in those ways because it is "natural" that they should do so. (Rosenholtz, p. 2-3)

In the above quotation, teachers are viewed as as having a herd mentality.

Whatever the school faculty does, we all do. Although it is not stated, the above quotation implies that teachers do not reflect and consciously act but conform their beliefs and actions to those of the school faculty. When researchers see teachers from this perspective, they may fail to recognize that not all faculty members conform. They do not define the workaday world identically and they do not all teach alike.

The structures, policies, and traditions of the workaday world do not exist in and of themselves. Individuals shape the meaning those structures and policies have for them. Human beings define their social world based in part on interactions and conversations with significant others. It is through relationships that people actively construct their shared social world. In this study, all four teachers actively constructed their understandings of the classroom world in which they taught. The significant others with whom they developed their shared understandings were different.

Jennifer and Ellen sociall constructed understandings with their students. Their students validated them as teachers. They worked to understand their students' perspectives of the world and developed their ability to see the information, skills, and concepts they presented from their students' perspectives. Both teachers reconstructed the curriculum to meet students' needs. Ellen's Southeast Asian aide helped her understand the students in her class and helped the students understand Ellen. Jennifer came to understand her students by watching and questioning the English-speaking Southeast Asian students about themselves, their classmates, their

lives, and their school experiences. When communication broke down, both teachers encouraged students to help one another. Jennifer and Ellen through social interaction actively constructed a shared social world with their students.

Mindy and Rita, on the other hand, built worlds of understanding with the administration. Most of the instructional interactions that occurred in their classrooms were based on relationships in which the teachers interacted with their students as status holders rather than as individuals. Primary sources of validation for Rita and Mindy included adherence to administrators' requests and expert sources, such as the CBEP curriculum guide and the basic skills lists. In their classrooms, students ritualistically performed spelling tests, filled out ditto sheets, colored, and copied in accordance with standards set by the teachers.

Relationship of this Study to Other Research

In Chapter II, I discussed the fact that the research on program implementation tends to view the school as a social system and teachers as a component of that system. A systems approach likens teachers to passive conduits through which standardized programs are delivered to students. Researchers using this approach tend to view teachers as functionaries who occupy a status and passively perform specified roles. In this study, Mindy and Rita were cultural functionaries. They relied on the administration to tell them what to do and did what they were asked. They performed the roles they were given according to standards set by the administration. The programs they developed might have been more effective had their administrators known more about Mindy and Rita's practices and about and teaching English through content-based instruction.

Jennifer and Ellen were not cultural functionaries. They did not shape their programs and themselves to the will of their administrators. They critically examined the standards they were given and worked to adapt those standards to fit

the educational needs of their Southeast Asian students. They actively constructed the social world they shared with those students and developed programs that were very different from those Mindy and Rita delivered.

Different factors affected each of the four teachers and their perceptions of what they were to do. These factors and the differences between the four teachers' programs demonstrate the complexity of the program implementation process. Not all teachers will interpret and implement the same program in the same way once the classroom door is closed. This finding points to a neglected issue of educational reform. Teachers come to the classroom with different knowledge, skills, and understandings about the work they are about to do. For educational reform to be successful, teachers need leadership and support that take those differences into account. Additionally, teachers like Jennifer and Ellen need the freedom to create programs for their students.

This idea is not new. In 1903, John Dewey argued that in a democracy, individuals must be free not only to act, but also to think. This "freedom of intelligence" rests on the ethical principle of "the responsibility and freedom of mind in discovery and proof" (p. 194). Dewey found this principle lacking in the schools.

The teacher has not the power of initiation and constructive endeavor which is necessary to the fulfillment of the function of teaching. . . . But until the public-school system is organized in such a way that every teacher has some regular and representative way in which he or she can register judgment upon matters of educational importance, with the assurance that this judgment will somehow affect the school system, the assertion that the present system is not, from the internal standpoint, democratic seems justified (p. 194).

When Dewey wrote these words, educational reformers were wresting control of educational decision making from school board members who often were not educators, had no expert knowledge of education, and who were influenced by

pressure from interest groups. The reformers' goal was to place decision-making power in the hands of the superintendent. Dewey worried about the autocracy of this approach. "No matter how wise, expert, or benevolent the head of the school system, the one-man principle is autocracy," he said (p. 195). His concern was that teachers would be left out of the decision making process and would be treated as a body of passive and recipient individuals who would be expected to do what they were told.

Eighty years later, Rosenholtz' (1989) data on "stuck districts" documents the reality of Dewey's concerns. Without addressing interrelated systems that press upon teachers as they go about their daily work, reform efforts that impose external standards all teachers must follow are likely to fail. Webb and Ashton (1986) recommend ecological reforms designed to democratize the workplace. Such reforms would

free the intelligence of those who work in schools, so they might better analyze their problems, invent solutions, and improve the quality of education. Rather than "de-skilling" teachers . . . by lessening their autonomy and subjecting them to prepackaged, teacher-proof curriculum materials, the goal of ecological reform is to empower teachers and to increase their sense of efficacy, by helping them take greater control of, and responsibility for, their professional lives (p. 161).

Jennifer and Ellen's analytical approach to teaching and their ability to construct appropriate programs for their students lends support to the need for reforms such as Webb and Ashton recommend. Mindy and Rita's reliance on the administration for guidance suggest that some teachers will need substantial help learning how to think reflectively about their teaching if they are to take greater control of their professional lives. Findings from this study also suggest that administrators will need extensive support learning how to work in professional relationships with

teachers, especially if they have been socialized into systems such as that of the Urbanville School District.

Educating Linguistically and Culturally Different Students

Three findings emerged from this study that have implications for the education of linguistically and culturally different students: (a) the system may play a significant role in preventing teachers from educating language minority students; (b) teachers do not provide language minority students with the same opportunities to learn English and to come to understand the American school culture and academic concepts; and (c) teachers who do not share a common language, culture, and life experiences with their students can educate those students. However, the qualifications for this last finding are extensive.

The Effect of the System on Programs for Language Minority Students

Researchers have identified at the role the social context and administrators play in impeding the implementation of programs for language minority (Ada, 1986; Burns, 1981; Trueba, 1989) and for culturally different students (Richardson, Casanova, Placier, & Guilfoyle, 1989). Findings from this study further demonstrate the potential negative effects of the social context on programs for language minority students. Mindy and Rita's programs were products of the district cultural context. For the most part their programs ignored the Southeast Asian students and their needs. Rita and Mindy developed their programs to comply with administrative directives. The administration in turn emphasized aspects of instructional programs that were stressed at the county level. The primacy of testing and mastery learning, the use of computers, and the emphasis on compliance with administrative directives were important aspects of the social context to which Mindy and Rita attended. Mindy and Rita relied on sources external to their classrooms to set the standards of what they were to do.

These findings suggest that educational bureaucracies that emphasize accountability and neglect teaching and learning may contribute to the failure of language minority students in two important ways. First, if teachers are cultural functionaries, like Mindy and Rita, who unquestioningly comply with policy directives, then social systems that emphasize testing and program documentation may fail to provide appropriate roles for such functionaries to follow. The result will be the implementation of programs that are inappropriate for linguistically and culturally diverse learners. Second, if teachers are thinking creative individuals, like Jennifer and Ellen, who actively construct educational programs with their students, then social systems that fail to support such teachers may prevent them from developing and implementing programs that are truly educational for language minority students. The importance of the social context on program implementation needs to be considered in educational reform for linguistically and culturally different students. Further research is needed to understand the ways in which the system diminishes or enhances the quality of educational programs that language minority students receive.

Disparate Opportunities to Learn

Studies of the transmission of culture and language learning have helped researchers understand the complex relationship of the micro-level social scene to the larger macro-level social context. In such research, social interactions are analyzed according to objective rules for linguistic or social interaction. The purpose is to derive general "etic" concepts or categories that can be organized into a typology "for describing and comparing cultural forms" (Goodenough, 1970, p. 129). Ethnographic studies of teaching have recorded student/teacher interactions within the cultural context of United States schools. Such studies have provided useful typologies for identifying teachers' unquestioned culture-based assumptions about

the best methods for teaching information and concepts (Moll & Diaz, 1987), the use of language in the classroom (Heath, 1983), rules for social interaction in the school and classroom (Tikunoff, 1985), and appropriate student behavior for completing academic tasks (Becker, 1970; Tikunoff, 1985). Studies have shown that teachers' practices derived from unquestioned assumptions often prevent language minority students from succeeding in school (Brice-Heath, 1983; Mehan, 1979; Mohatt & Erickson, 1981). Mindy and Rita's teaching methods and the programs they developed support the findings of previous research. In their classrooms, the instructional practices they emphasized and the programs that evolved in their classroom were the product of unquestioned assumptions adhered to by the larger macro-level school and district culture. The development of shared understandings and student learning was sporadic and depended more on the students ability to figure out what was going on than the teachers ability to transmit cultural knowledge.

Cultural transmission occurs through dialogue and the development of shared understandings. Jennifer and Ellen constructed a shared world with their students. Their programs were in sharp contrast to those developed by Mindy and Rita. A comparison of the four teachers' practices suggests that within a single program students do not receive the same opportunities to learn English or to come to understand the American school culture and the knowledge they will need in order to make their way in the regular academic program. The differences among the four teachers' programs indicate the importance of understanding the "emic" perspective, the way in which teachers actually structure and give meaning to the social world in which they work. Wolcott terms this perspective "propriospect" (1991, p. 251). Studies of teachers' propriospects would seek to identify teachers' understandings of the social world: how they perceive what they are doing, how they communicate

their understandings to their students, and how that communication affects the students' learning and acquisition of culture. They would also provide insight into the reasons why teachers develop and present such disparate programs in their classrooms.

The Role of the Teacher in Developing Programs for Language Minority Students

Ideally, teaching is the development of shared understandings, the presence of which make possible the transmission of culture, the development of community, and shared social action. Most language minority students, however, are placed in classrooms with teachers who do not speak their language and do not share their cultural backgrounds (Developmental Associates, 1984). The high drop-out rates suggest that for many of these students, learning does not occur (Wong Fillmore, Ammon, McLaughlin, & Ammon, 1986).

Researchers that have examined the cultural transmission process provide one explanation for teachers' failure to educate language minority students. Such researchers argue that teachers, for the most part, are cultural functionaries who have been socialized to perform specific roles (Spindler, 1956). A related explanation stated in the literature is that mainstream teachers are unaware of the meaning their behaviors and words have as they attempt to teach language minority students (Spindler, 1991; Erickson, 1979; Tamavarra & Enright, 1986). In this study, Mindy and Rita acted as cultural functionaries who did not understand the educational implications of what they did. They accepted whatever the teacher's guides and administrators said they were to do and documented that they had done what was requested. They either ignored or were not capable of observing their classes from their students point of view. Despite evidence that students were not learning (the questions students asked, the questions students were unable to

answer, and low test scores) Rita and Mindy believed they had a good program and had done their work well.

I began my study with a question, "Can teachers who do not share a common language or life experiences with their students teach those students and prepare them to enter regular academic programs, and if so, how, and why?" I based this question on my review of research related to educating language minority students. Several studies identified effective teaching practices in bilingual educationa classrooms (Tikunoff, 1986; Wong Fillmore, Ammon, McLaughlin, & Ammom, 1986). For the most part, classroom studies have documented the ways in which mono-lingual English-speaking Anglo teachers in United States schools are unaware of and/or insensitive to the cultural, linguistic, and educational needs of language minority students (Castaneda, Herold, & Ramirez, 1979; LeCompte, 1981; Moll & Diaz, 1987; Snow 1990; Tikunoff, 1986). Such studies, however, have tended to focus on the surface manifestation of language and behavior as recorded in face-to-face social interactions (Tammivaara & Enright, 1986, p. 121). With the exception of traditional ethnographic studies (Peshkin, 1986; Rist, 1975; Ross, 1978; Smith & Geoffery, 1968; Smith & Keith, 1971; Wolcott, 1977) most research in the anthropology of teaching focuses on the "etic" perspective which Tammivaara and Enright define as "the researcher's point of view" (1986, p. 109). In such research, teaching and classroom social interactions are analyzed by the researcher according to objective rules for linguistic or social discourse. The purpose is to interpret teachers' actions within the larger macro-level culture and to develop general "etic" typology of teaching. Such research had given us vast information about teachers' actions as guided by unquestioned macro-level cultural assumptions. The data, however, has provided little information about the historical context of the teachers' actions, the why of teaching (Gitlin, 1990; Gitlin & Smyth,

1990). This study was an attempt to provide some insight into the complex contextual factors that influence the decisions teachers make and their understandings of those decisions. By focusing on the "emic" and documenting the words and actions of the teachers over the period of one year, I was able to provide some insight into how teachers perceive their actions, and why teachers act the way they do once the classroom door is closed.

Mindy and Rita's inability to assess their students' learning needs, their adherence to administrative policy, and their resulting instructional practices and programs limited their students' learning. The data from their programs helps us to understand why some teachers may not be appropriate teachers for linguistically and culturally diverse students. In contrast, Jennifer and Ellen's practices and programs demonstrate that ESL teachers can be successful. They interacted with their students and socially constructed classroom learning communities. Their students learned English and the academic content they needed to succeed in the regular academic program. Their students also developed the social skills and classroom strategies they would need to succeed in the regular academic program (Tikunoff, 1986). In Jennifer and Ellen's classrooms, cooperative learning activities and cooperative goal structures were the norm, not the exception. Student-student interaction and peer tutoring were common instructional techniques. They defined students as partners in the teaching/learning process. Ellen and Jennifer read available literature, quizzed other teachers, and obtained scarce county curriculum guides. They used the information they learned to identify skills and concepts the students might have missed, how those concepts were introduced and taught at different grade levels, and what skills and concepts the students would need once they were placed in the regular academic program. They observed and questioned students in an effort to understand how students experienced the class, how they learned, and what most

interested them. Their goal was to place the students in the academic program appropriate for their age/grade level.

Findings from Jennifer and Ellen's programs suggest that teachers who do not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with their students can be effective teachers. The job, however, is immensely difficult. Teachers of language minority children must value their instructional work and the students they teach. They must be critical thinkers, reflective practitioners who actively construct and reconstruct the social world they share with their students. They must work with their students in collegial partnerships, enter their students' world, and develop shared understandings through the process of the face-to-face interaction. Such teachers must also be aware of the place their program has in the total school curriculum and prepare students to enter the regular academic program with the language, academic, and cultural skills they will need to succeed. One further quality demonstrated in the practices of Jennifer and Ellen has been discussed the literature on professional teachers (Darling-Hammond, 1988). Teachers of language-minority students must be able and willing to make professional judgements and subvert administrative policy when such policies are "counterproductive, and at times even damaging to their students" (p. 61).

Findings from this study indicate that good teachers are not enough. The social context is crucial in the implementation of quality programs for language minority students. Even the best teachers may fail when they work in social contexts like that of the Urbantown school district, that support managerial over instructional goals, demand adherence to policy directives, encourage the appearance of instructional progress over actual student learning, and force all students to progress through a lock-step curriculum. Trueba's summary of school context factors that negatively affect teachers of language minority students (1989, pp. 111-116) and Houston's

(1988) discussion of school factors that influenced the implementation of school restructuring programs emphasize the importance of school context in program implementation.

I began this study with an idealistic belief in the 1920's reconstructionist theories of John Dewey and George Counts. My study would lend support to the reconstructionist argument. The Urbantown CBEP was an innovative program, the original impetus for which was real student, teacher, and school-based concerns. In the course of documenting the implementation process, my faith in the schools to affect social change was challenged as the CBE Program's complex links with district and school became clear. The CBE Program, despite its innovative grass-roots origins, was after all a school-based program operating within a school district. As teachers coped with school-level and district demands, my belief in the capacity of the schools to build a new social order was eroded. While I have not lost hope, I have lost much of my optimism. I still believe in the potential to influence social change, but now understand that it will be difficult to realize that potential within hierarchical organizational structures. Something is amiss when teachers are rewarded for following the rules rather than for educating children. Something is wrong when those in charge of supervising teachers have no background or experience with the work the teachers are to do. Until issues such as these are addressed educational innovations for language minority students in top-down districts such as Urbantown will in all probability fail.

Restoring the Balance:
Reactions and Reflections

The study of teaching in an ongoing social system is a complex undertaking. The researcher enters the social scene to observe people as they live their lives in response to the set of social conditions in which they find themselves. The purpose is not to

judge, but to understand, to answer what Wolcott (1977) termed the ethnographer's most basic question, "What is going on here?" The goal identified by Kimball (1974) is to "determine the characteristics of on-going systems as they operate within a set of conditions" (p. 5).

Of primary concern to the ethnographer using a symbolic interactionist perspective is the identification of problems people face, the uncovering of their understandings of those problems, and the documentation of actions they take to resolve the problems and restore balance to the social scene. The participants, however, often have a different emphasis. Their emphasis is on the resolution, elimination, and hopefully anticipation and prevention of problems (Wolcott, 1978, p. 317). Participants want to keep the lid on, while the ethnographer wants to take the lid off in an effort to understand the social system. The difference in perspectives, Wolcott noted (1978, p. 317) often places participants and the ethnographer at cross-purposes. What the ethnographer identifies as crucial to understanding the social scene, the participants may see as an overemphasis on problems and an underemphasis on what was working. Wolcott argues, however, that the ethnographer's perspective can produce studies that inform educators regarding the limitations inherent in any status within the educational system. Furthermore, such information can enable educators to make more realistic assessments of those limitations "in terms of individual personalities, capabilities, and aspirations" (p. 318).

The ethnographer doesn't just watch, document, and make sense of observed events and social interactions. He/she also reflects on the social scene and through the process of interpretation attempts to place the field data within the larger research context. In this section, I briefly examined the findings and conclusions presented in Chapters V-VII within a framework of relevant research and in so doing restore some balance to the discussion of the findings in this chapter.

The social context discussed in Chapter V placed both principals in situations where they were caught between the managerial demands of the school district and the instructional concerns of the CBEP teachers. In a top-down district such as that of the Urbantown, complying with district requests, resolving and preventing problems, and looking as though there were no problems were primary criteria by which the district administration judged the principals' competence as administrators. Wolcott (1978) documented similar criteria and the dilemma they pose for principals in general. For the principals in my study, the district generated expectations usually took precedence over classroom level concerns of teachers. One effect, as discussed in Chapters V, VI, and VII, was that district procedures and the emphasis on bureaucratic, managerial concerns indirectly worked against the implementation of the CBE Program.

The study of teaching in natural settings is a sensitive undertaking. The ethnographer enters the classroom to document and understand the social interactions and activities that occur there. The purpose is to understand the educative processes through the activities of teachers and students while seeking to avoid influencing the teaching/ learning process that unfolds. Equally important in ethnographic inquiry is the trust that the teacher gives to the researcher. Acting in natural and honest ways places the teacher in a vulnerable position. It also places the researcher in an ethical dilemma. How does one present honestly what one has documented without violating the trust of those who participated in the fieldwork. How does one present a balanced view of the findings?

Decisions the researcher makes as he/she interprets the findings in light of current research greatly influence the picture that unfolds. In the following section, I briefly discuss the current debate and major studies regarding the education of linguistically and culturally diverse students. I have selected the studies that shaped my

understanding of the issues related to educating those students. In light of that discussion, I then revisit the four teachers and in so doing, attempt to restore the balance between the emphasis I chose in reporting the findings and aspects of the social scene that I did not examine.

Research Framework

As discussed in Chapter I, there is a major debate among educators as to the most effective way to educate language minority students. Some have argued that bilingual education is essential in providing language minority students with a sound conceptual and linguistic foundation from which to acquire English as a second language and develop the essential academic skills necessary to learn in all English academic programs (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1992). Others have argued that bilingual programs inhibits students' acquisition of English (Porter, 1990). Supporters of this position propose that from the first day of school language minority students should be placed in regular academic programs and given special classes in learning English as a second language. As Crawford (1989) has noted, the research evidence to date tends to favor the bilingual education position.

The current trend within the English as a second language profession is to develop approaches, such as that of the CBE Program, that integrate content concepts and skills with English language instruction. In such approaches, English as a second language teachers may use content materials to teach English or content area teachers may teach English language skills while teaching the content areas. This trend is based on research findings that have documented the complexity of the language and academic learning process that confronts linguistically and culturally diverse students once they enter academic programs in which instruction is only in English (Tikunoff, 1986; Chamot & O'Malley, 1992).

In both bilingual education and content-based English as a second language programs there is a general consensus that the work of teaching has to be academic. Students have to make academic progress if they are going to be able to learn in English once they are exited from either program. A central issue is one of providing challenging content while providing for the language needs of the LEP student. Cummins (1979; 1992) also identified the need for students to develop the social language necessary to participate competently as a member of the the school community. While social language skills develop more rapidly than the academic language skills, the two are intertwined and their development must be planned for. In addition to the two levels of language Cummins identified, Tikunoff (1985) also identified what he called participative competence. Participative competence is the ability of a student to actually do the academic tasks assigned by a teacher. Participative competence is developed by students because they are members of the school culture. At lower grade levels, participative skills are directly taught, while at upper grade levels educators often assume that students already learned those skills. As Tikunoff noted (1986), linguistically and culturally diverse students entering school for the first time or entering school in the upper grade levels may not have the essential participatory skills. These skills would also need to be assessed and taught in programs for such students. Finally, Chamot and O'Malley (1985; 1992) identified metacognitive learning strategies characteristic of good language learners and of students who have progressed through the grade levels in U.S. schools. They argue that linguistically and culturally diverse students may not have had the opportunity to develop such skills, and in those instances students will need an instructional program that incorporates the development of learning strategies.

A major concern in the bilingual education/ESL literature is the way in which regular academic educational programs are developed and implemented in U.S.

schools. Most curricula tends to be linear in design based on the underlying assumptions that as children progress through the grades they will acquire certain skills. These skills will then become the building blocks for further studies. The model also assumes that students enter school in the U.S. in kindergarten and progress through each successive grade. The fallacies of the single developmental model approach to education and its limitations with respect to providing educational programs for linguistically and culturally different students has been discussed at length by Brice-Heath (1992). She argued that schools need to provide as varied opportunities as possible for linguistically and culturally diverse students to hear, practice, and acquire the language necessary for school success. Related to this is Ventriglia's (1983) study in which she found that the higher the correlation between the language used in the ESL or bilingual program and that used in the regular academic programs, the higher the possibility for LEP students success once they were placed in an all English academic programt.

Applying the Research to this Study

I began this study by examining the academic aspects of the CBE Program. I wanted to understand how each teacher understood what it meant to teach English using a content-based curriculum approach. I also wanted to know if it were possible for teachers to educate students when they did not share a common language, culture, or life experiences with those students. As I analyzed the data, I decided to examine the kinds of participatory skills being taught in the four CBEP classrooms. I did not include a discussion of the opportunities for the development of basic interpersonal communication skills (Cummins, 1992). Each teacher did, however, provide opportunities for social interaction.

I documented several instances of Mindy and her social interactions with her students. While they were not as extensive as with the other teachers, due in part to

Mindy's emphasis on discipline and maintaining a quiet classroom, Mindy did socially interact with her students. In such interactions, her students had opportunities to practice their social language skills. In the spring, for example, she taught social dancing in the after school special interest program, and several of her students took the class. Occasionally she would have sharing circles where the children and she would discuss issues and concerns. In most of my observations, however, I documented that the students socially interacted with each other in their native languages. While Mindy did encourage them to communicate in English, she did not provide many activities that specifically focused on developing their social language skills. She primarily emphasized academic language development as outlined on the basic skill list.

Rita provided her students with many opportunities for spontaneous social interaction. The upper level students, especially, developed their social language skills. Rita joked with her students and actively engaged them in discussions about school events and social issues. While she provided lots of language models for the students, those who had limited English ability did not easily learn from them. They needed direct instruction or planned activities that would have enabled them to develop their social language skills. When given the choice, they generally interacted in their first language in social situations such as lunch and free time in the classroom.

The social pressures under which Mindy and Rita worked provide one explanation as to why they did not include much direct instruction in social language. The administration emphasized academic skills mastery and program documentation. Social language skills were not included in the CBEP curriculum guide, nor were they a part of the basic skills mastery list at the elementary level. Social language skills development was peripheral to the academic program, not a part of it. As such, there was little reason to teach those skills. As discussed in this chapter, if Mindy and Rita

had been in a social setting that emphasized different goals, they very likely would have developed more inclusive programs.

Jennifer and Ellen did manage to find a balance and integrate all the skills identified in the research. Their students received a strong academic program, they also were provided with multiple opportunities to develop not only oral but written social language skills too. Jennifer for example had her students write thank you notes several times during the year to Macdonalds and other fast food restaurants that had provided food for school activities. Ellen's students made a huge get well card for a foreign student who had come to the U.S. for an operation. Also, Ellen's students published two books about their life stories and distributed them to the entire faculty. Ellen and Jennifer also consciously learned what participatory skills their students would need once they were mainstreamed and worked to help their students develop those skills.

If the descriptions of the teachers appear overly positive or negative, it is because I chose to examine the issue of providing a balanced educational program for linguistically and culturally diverse students. The purpose was not to evaluate the teachers but to understand how they implemented the CBE Program at the classroom level and to identify factors influencing that process. The question that remains is how to help teachers restore the balance of an integrated program when the pressure of the social context may mitigate against their finding and maintaining that balance.

One additional issue needs to be addressed with regard to the social context. In the early 1970s when the Urbantown Superintendent and School Board first established the competency testing and basic skills mastery emphasis, such a policy was very effective in enabling the district to cope with the complex challenges of consolidation. The result was that every school in the district raised its academic standards. The continued emphasis on test scores and skills mastery did little, however, to resolve the

new challenges that the Southeast Asians presented. To use Rosenholtz' term, the district was "stuck" in an old pattern that no longer served as a guide in developing appropriate programs for the newest student group. A final question that deserves study is how can school districts stuck in old patterns work to develop new responses to meet the challenges of the nation's changing student populations?

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anne E. Campbell holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in Spanish with a dual minor in sociology and anthropology from the University of New Hampshire. She has studied in Mexico and Spain. She holds a Master of Education degree in urban/bilingual elementary education from the University of Hartford. During her masters program, she was an intern in the Bilingual Cycle VII Teacher Corps Project and taught at the Ann Street Bilingual Community School in Hartford, Connecticut.


She studied multicultural education, curriculum development for language minority students, social foundations of education, and anthropology in her doctoral program at the University of Florida. In addition to her doctoral studies, Ms. Campbell taught courses in social foundations of education, curriculum and instruction, bilingual education, and teaching English as a second language. She was a graduate research associate on numerous federal and state funded projects, and was Director of the University of Florida Teacher Training Project for Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language Teachers from 1989 to 1991. She has developed cross-cultural training materials for teachers and school psychologists in Florida and has written monographs and technical reports

Professionally, Ms. Campbell has been an educator for twenty years. She has taught elementary bilingual education and developmental reading in elementary and middle school, developmental reading and social foundations at the undergraduate level, and developed and taught courses in bilingual/ESL methods, curriculum and materials development, and cross-cultural communication at the graduate level. She also taught foreign students English as a second language at the University of Florida's English

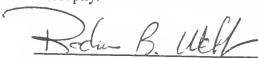
Language Institute. From 1986-1987 she was an instructor at the Pennsylvania State University. She 1991-1992 she was adjunct faculty member at Florida Southern College where she developed and taught state certification courses in teaching English as a second language. She has also worked as a consultant with school districts throughout the state to provide federally mandated ESL training to teachers, administrators, and other educational personnel.

Ms. Campbell has published articles on bilingual education, second language acquisition, and Indian education. She has presented papers and given workshops at state, regional, national, and international conferences. Currently, Ms. Campbell is an adjunct lecturer at the University of Arizona, Tucson in the Department of Learning, Reading, and Culture.

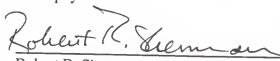
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Professor of Instruction and Curriculum


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Rodman B. Webb, Cochair
Professor of Foundations of Education


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August, 1992



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